The Movement for Greek Independence 1770–1821

Edited and translated by Richard Clogg

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The Movement for Greek Independence 1770-1821

A collection of documents

Edited and translated and with an introduction by

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Preface

In recent years there has been a welcome resurgence of scholarly interest outside Greece in the modern history of Greece, and the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the outbreak of the War of Independence has given a particular boost to studies of the independence period. It remains the case, however, that the principal focus of non-Greek writing about Greece is on what Greeks call the 'external factor', Greece and its relations with the Great Powers. The study of the internal dynamics of Greek society has been neglected and, for obvious linguistic reasons, is likely to remain a closed book to non-specialists. For this reason I have devoted little space in this collection of documents to the international aspects of the movement for Greek independence, and have sought rather to illustrate how it was that the Greeks were the first of the peoples of South-Eastern Europe to develop a national movement of a recognisably modern type, a movement which enabled them to mount and sustain an eventually successful rebellion against the still considerable might of Ottoman Porte. It is undeniable that without foreign intervention Greece would very probably have not attained independence, and certainly not when she did. Yet it is also undeniable that had the Greeks not been able to prolong their armed insurrection over a period of years, in the process threatening the stability of an area of traditional Great Power rivalry, then the Powers would not have felt obliged to intervene. Particular emphasis, therefore, has been placed on documents which throw light on the nature of Greek society on the eve of independence. In short this is an attempt to look at the Greek national movement from within rather than from without, to enable those without Greek to gain an insight into one of the most interesting of modern national movements. No attempt has been made to cover the War of Independence itself which has been the object of a number of recent studies of high quality.

Documents from the Public Record Office are reproduced by kind permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office, and I am grateful to Professor Elie Kedourie for permission to reproduce material (Section 4:1) that originally appeared in *Middle Eastern Studies*. Efforts to ascertain whether Elizabeth Mayhew Edmonds' translation of Kolokotronis' *Memoirs* is still in copyright have proved unsuccessful. Once again it is a pleasure to thank Anne Pilcher of King's College for much help

in the preparation of this book and Mary Jo Clogg for the index. I owe a special debt of gratitude to George Papageorgiou and to Alexis Dimaras for the unstinting way in which they have contributed to my understanding of the Greek texts. Responsibility for such inaccuracies as remain in the translations is, of course, mine alone. Ambiguities undoubtedly remain. I hope that some, at least, can be attributed to imprecisions in the original texts, for a number of these were composed by men who were not fully literate. Archaisms in the translations represent a deliberate effort to capture the flavour of the original.

London RICHARD CLOGG
June 1975

Note on transliteration

The question of transliteration is invariably difficult. But a book of this kind poses unusual problems. While I have tried to be consistent in those passages which I have myself translated, it seemed inappropriate to try to harmonise or modernise the system of transliteration used by earlier writers and translators. Although inconsistencies in translation are therefore inevitable, the most important variant spellings are listed in the index.

Introduction

At the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century John Cam Hobhouse, an acute observer of Greek society during the pre-independence period, wrote:

> Any general revolution of the Greeks, independent of foreign aid, is quite impracticable; for, although the great mass of the people, as is the case in all insurrections, has feeling and spirit enough to make the attempt, yet most of the higher classes, and all the clergy [. . .] are apparently willing to acquiesce in their present condition.
>
> The Patriarch and Princes of the Fanal are at the devotion of the Porte. The primates of the towns and the richer merchants would be cautious not to move, unless they were certain of benefiting by the change; and of this backwardness in the chiefs of their nation, the Greeks are by no means insensible. They talk of it publicly, and make it the subject of their satire, revenging themselves, as is their constant practice, by a song [. . . which] displays the apathy of the privileged classes, and concludes [. . .] 'we have found a Metropolitan, and a Bey of Wallachia, and a Merchant and a Primate, all friends to tyranny'.*

Such an analysis is certainly borne out by many of the documents included in this collection. Yet within eleven years of Hobhouse's gloomy prognosis, the Greeks were engaged in a bitter struggle against their Ottoman rulers, which ten years later was to result in the emergence of an independent Greek state, incorporating, it is true, only a small proportion of the Greeks under Ottoman rule, but sovereign nonetheless.

The primary purpose of this documentary collection is to illustrate the nature of Greek society in the pre-independence period, the various strands of the independence movement and the process by which the Greeks were able to mount a fully-fledged armed insurrection. The first section seeks to give an insight into the complex nature of Greek society, with its many internal tensions, in the decades before 1821. During the course of the eighteenth century, as a consequence of their increasing commercial and cultural contacts with Western Europe, the Greeks became increasingly conscious of the contrast between the *Rechtsstaaten* of

*J. C. Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania, and other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople during the years 1809 and 1810* (London 1813) II, p. 597.

Western Europe, with their respect for life, order and property, and the endemic anarchy of the Ottoman Empire in its decline (Sections 1:1, 8; 2:7; 5:2, 3, 4). The destructive violence that was never very far beneath the surface of Ottoman society is graphically illustrated in the report (1:5) of Francis Werry, the Levant Company's consul in Smyrna (Izmir), describing the so-called Smyrna 'rebellion' of 1797, an extremely destructive urban riot resulting from the indiscipline of the corps of janissaries. In this riot some fifteen hundred Greeks are reported to have been killed and massive damage was done to the property of the Frankish merchant community.

Yet if the uncertainties of life in the Ottoman Empire and the capriciousness of the Ottoman authorities drove enterprising Greeks in increasing numbers to seek their fortunes without the boundaries of the Empire (2:5, 7) it is nonetheless true that, in general, the Greek *raya* or subjects of the Ottoman Empire benefited from a policy on the part of the Ottoman authorities that amounted to one of 'benign neglect'. In various remote and mountainous regions of the Empire, e.g. the Mani and Agrapha, the writ of the Ottoman central government scarcely ran (1:8, 2) while in others, e.g. the *Eleftherokhoria* (three confederations of villages in Khalkidiki), the *Dervenokhoria* (seven villages in the plain of Megara), Zagora, Ayvalık (Kydonies) on the western littoral of Asia Minor, Chios (1:3) and the Peloponnese (1:7), the Greeks enjoyed a high degree of self-government often combined with tax privileges which at times amounted to virtual autonomy.

Moreover, during the course of the eighteenth century many of the functions of the Ottoman state were assumed at local level by a new Ottoman élite composed of the *derebeys* (valley lords) of Asiatic Turkey and the *ayans* (notables) of European Turkey. These *derebeys* and *ayans,* the best known of whom was Tepelenli Ali Paşa of Ioannina (1:6a), frequently provided the framework of law and order, whose absence was bewailed by the authors of the *Geographia Neoteriki* (1:1) and by Ioannis Pringos, a wealthy Greek merchant of Amsterdam (2:7). Some, indeed, particularly in Anatolia, went out of their way to encourage the settlement of Greeks in the areas under their control, as the letter of 1776 written from Smyrna by the future Patriarch Grigorios V, then a deacon, testifies (1:6b).

Another very important privilege enjoyed by the Greeks was the large measure of religious freedom afforded by the *millet* system. Under this system, all the Orthodox Christians in the Empire were grouped together in the *Rum milleti* or Greek *millet,* under the leadership of the Ecumenical Patriarch or *millet başı.* Although the *Rum milleti* incorporated Romanians, Serbs, Bulgarians, Hellenised Albanians and Vlachs, besides Greeks, the office of Patriarch and the hierarchy of the Church remained

firmly under Greek control throughout the *Tourkokratia,* or period of Ottoman rule. In addition to spiritual jurisdiction over the Orthodox flock the Patriarch and the Holy Synod also enjoyed a wide jurisdiction in civil affairs, particularly in marital and testamentary matters. Not surprisingly the *millet* system played an important role in preserving a sense of corporate identity among the non-Muslim populations of the Empire. In return for the granting of these substantial privileges the Ottoman Porte expected the Patriarch and the Orthodox hierarchy to act as guarantors of the loyalty of the Orthodox populations to the Ottoman state. This explains the numerous admonitions urging total obedience to the powers that be, addressed by members of the Orthodox hierarchy to the Christian populations of the Empire. These became particularly frequent as, in the wake of the the French Revolution, the French occupation of the Ionian Islands (1797) and Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt (1798), the Ottoman authorities came increasingly to fear the impact of French revolutionary principles and of nationalism among the subject peoples of the Empire. A classic example of this genre is the Patriarch Anthimos of Jerusalem's *Didaskalia Patriki* (Paternal Exhortation) of 1798 (4:1). This not only advocated passive submission to the Ottoman authorities but also advanced the by no means uncommon view that the Ottoman conquest of the Byzantine Empire came about by Divine Providence as a punishment for the Christian Empire's manifold sins and so that the Ottoman Empire might act as a shield for the Orthodox Church against the taint of the Latin heresy. These kinds of attitude, coupled with a considerable degree of corruption in the affairs of the church (4:2) and a growing tendency in the decades before independence for the church authorities to equate enlightenment with irreligion (6:5, 6), inevitably provoked the wrath of the more active protagonists of the cause of Greek independence. This anti-clericalism often manifested itself in extreme terms, as in the *Rossanglogallos* (7:1) and the *Elliniki Nomarkhia* (7:2), although atheism as such was a very rare phenomenon in pre-independence Greece. Almost all critics of the ecclesiastical establishment, however bitter their loathing of the hierarchy, were careful to stress that they were believers, and that the objects of their abuse had strayed from the straight and narrow path of religious duty.

Given that the Ottoman Porte expected the hierarchy of the Church to guarantee the loyalty and obedience of the Orthodox *pliroma,* or flock, in return for the concession of a considerable degree of religious autonomy, it is not surprising that, when the War of Independence did break out in 1821, the Patriarch and the Holy Synod should have denounced the rebellious Greeks in the strongest terms (12:2), and no less surprising that the Ottoman Porte should have executed the Patriarch and a number of leading members of the hierarchy for their failure to fulfil what in its eyes

was the Church's primary obligation (12:3). Yet there was a reverse side to the coin of ecclesiastical submissiveness, corruption, obscurantism and anti-intellectualism in the simple faith of the humble Christian, as exemplified in the account of the martyrdom of Athanasios of Smyrna in 1819 (4:3), while Ignatios, Metropolitan of Oungrovlakhia, made a spirited defence of the ecclesiastical hierarchy as patrons of learning and popular education in his *Apologia* of 1815 (4:4). Count Ioannis Kapodistrias also foresaw a major role for the clergy in bringing about that moral regeneration which he considered to be the essential prerequisite of emancipation (8:3).

If the Orthodox hierarchy, implicitly at least, acted as an administrative arm of the Ottoman state, then the Phanariots were explicit agents of the Ottoman power. The Phanariots, drawn from a tightly-knit group of eleven families, were the nearest approximation to a Greek *noblesse de robe* (3:1). As from the end of the seventeenth century onwards the Ottoman Empire had been placed on the defensive in Turkey in Europe, so the Porte's need for skilled diplomats and negotiators had increased. This need was filled by the Phanariots who, during the eighteenth century and the first two decades of the nineteenth, came to monopolise the office of *megas dierminefs* (*tercüman başı* or principal interpreter) to the Ottoman Porte. The office was much more important than its title might suggest and the Phanariot principal interpreter was often in a position to exercise a considerable influence over the wider conduct of Ottoman diplomacy. Phanariots also came to monopolise the office of *dierminefs tou stolou* or interpreter to the *kaptan paşa*, or High Admiral, of the Ottoman fleet and in effect acted as governors of the islands of the Aegean archipelago.

The most sought after offices which came to be monopolised by Phanariots, however, were the posts of *hospodar,* or prince, of the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. The opportunities for the personal enrichment of the *hospodar* and his entourage were vast in these two fertile provinces, from which Constantinople itself was principally provisioned. The Phanariot courts established in Iaşi (Jassy) in Moldavia and Bucharest in Wallachia were organised on the model of the imperial court in Constantinople and each Phanariot prince had an elaborate retinue of courtiers and officials (3:2). The rich pickings open to the holders of these offices led to a great deal of competition amongst members of the Phanariot caste for the posts and in consequence tenure was short. Those who had secured office, and were established on their princely thrones in Iaşi or Bucharest, were naturally anxious to watch over, and if possible to thwart, the intrigues of their rivals in the imperial capital. To this end they employed an agent or *kapıkâhyası* whose principal task, ostensibly at least, was to watch over the interests of his prince (3:3). The kind of activities which the *hospodar's kapıkâhyası*

engaged in, and the intense rivalries for these offices, made the Phanariots a byword for intrigue. But there were more positive aspects of their rule, particularly in the educational sphere, for the princely academies in Iaşi and Bucharest (6:5) were important centres of learning not only in the Principalities but in the Greek world as a whole.

Another élite group in Greek society during the pre-independence period was that composed by the *kocabaşıs* (*proestoi, proychountes,* primates or notables). Particularly in the Peloponnese the *kocabaşı*, or, as they were sometimes derisively known, the 'Christian Turks', were the nearest approximation to a Greek landowning class (1:7). Moreover, these notables enjoyed a considerable degree of self-government in the Peloponnese. They worked in close co-operation with Ottoman officials, for whom they acted both as tax assessors and as tax collectors, and this dual responsibility inevitably made them unpopular with the Greek peasantry.

In general terms, the hierarchy of the Orthodox Church, the Phanariots and the *kocabaşıs* identified themselves with the Ottoman *status quo,* and were certainly singled out as being among the oppressors of the Greeks in the satirical poem, the *Rossanglogallos* (the Russian, the Englishman and the Frenchman), which was composed during the first decade of the nineteenth century and which, although never printed, is known to have circulated widely in manuscript form (7:1). The position of the Greek commercial bourgeoisie, however, whose emergence as a dominant force in the internal and external commerce of the Ottoman Empire during the course of the eighteenth century has long been recognised as a highly significant factor, was more ambiguous.

The merchant is stigmatised in the *Rossanglogallos* as being indifferent to the fate of the Greeks labouring under the Ottoman yoke and being concerned only with his profits. Yet historians have frequently seen a direct correlation between the growth of this commercial bourgeoisie and the development of the Greek national movement. The precise relationship between the two still requires further elucidation, but that there was a very considerable upsurge in Greek commercial activity is undeniable. The Turks traditionally scorned commerce as unbefitting a Muslim, and the Greeks were quick and eager to assume the role of the principal mercantile element in the Ottoman Empire, taking over from the Armenians and Jews who had dominated Ottoman commerce during the early centuries after the fall of Constantinople. The bulk of the export and import and carrying trade of the Ottoman Empire was in the hands of the Greeks, and towns and cities such as Ioannina (2:1), Smyrna, Thessaloniki, Patras and Alexandria became thriving centres of Greek commerce. Trading firms, frequently composed of members of the same family (2:1), conducted their business both within Ottoman territory and in the main commercial centres of Western and Central Europe, the Mediterranean, the

Balkans, Russia and even as far afield as Bengal (2:5). The merchants remaining in the Ottoman territories frequently formed themselves into guilds, such as those of the guild of the grocers of Moskhopolis (Voskopolje), most of whose members appear to have been hellenised Vlachs (2:4). These guilds frequently had elaborate rules regulating the conduct of trade and controlling entry to the guild.

Parallel with the growth of a Greek commercial empire, was the growth of a Greek mercantile marine, which expanded dramatically in the last decades of the eighteenth and first two decades of the nineteenth century, under the impetus of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars which afforded enterprising Greek sea-captains plentiful and profitable opportunities for blockade running. Much of the Greek merchant fleet was based on what were known as the three 'Nautical Islands', Psara, Spetses and, the most important, Hydra (2:2). At the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, the Greeks had eclipsed the French in the trade of the Eastern Mediterranean, while the English merchants of the Levant Company were increasingly resentful of Greek commercial competition which threatened their monopoly of the carrying trade between the Levant and Great Britain (2:6).

The bulk of the enterpreneurial energy of the Greeks was channelled into commercial rather than industrial or quasi-industrial activity on account of the uncertainties and arbitrariness of Ottoman rule. Money could be more easily channelled abroad and otherwise hidden from the prying eyes of the Ottoman tax collector than could buildings, tools and equipment. There were some exceptions to this rule, however, the most remarkable example of which is Ambelakia in Thessaly, which in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was an important centre for the production and export of spun red cotton, as the French consul in Thessaloniki, Felix de Beaujour, recognised (2:3). During the last three decades of the eighteenth century the population of the town of Ambelakia tripled, and twenty-four manufactories exported an annual output of some 2000 bales (each weighing approximately 312 lb.) to Central Europe, where the Ambelakiots maintained agents in Pest, Vienna, Leipzig, Dresden, Anspach and Bayreuth. Initially the enterprise proved highly profitable but profits declined as a result of the kind of factional intrigue that was a characteristic of much Greek life during this period.

If the remarkable resurgence in Greek commercial activity and the emergence of a substantial merchant bourgeoisie is an established fact, the precise relationship between the emergence of this bourgeoisie and the development of the independence movement is less certain. Historians have argued that the merchants as a class were moved to throw their weight behind the independence movement because they chafed at the arbitrariness and uncertainty of Ottoman rule, and contrasted the lack of

encouragement given to commerce in the Ottoman Empire with the policies of West European states, in which the rule of law applied, where arbitrary exactions and imposts were not tolerated and where policies of active encouragement of trade and industry were pursued. The classic statement of such a view is that contained in the journal of Ioannis Pringos, a wealthy merchant from Zagora, for many years established in Amsterdam (2:7). Yet while Pringos certainly castigated the Ottomans for failing to perceive that the wealth of their subjects was the wealth of the Ottoman Empire, at the same time he believed that Greece's liberation would come about by divine intervention rather than by human endeavour, according to the prophecies and oracles that constituted the basis of Greek popular culture during this period (6:10*a*–*f*). Again it has been argued that the 'progressive' role of the merchants is demonstrated by their preponderance in the membership of the *Philiki Etairia,* the secret revolutionary society founded in Odessa in 1814 which laid the organisational groundwork of the Greek revolt (11:2). Yet recent studies have convincingly demonstrated that while what could loosely be described as merchants formed a majority of the known membership, these were overwhelmingly failed merchants or bankrupts, men who had failed to make the grade in the fiercely competitive world of the Greek mercantile diaspora – in the words of Count Ioannis Kapodistrias in his memoirs, 'miserable merchants' clerks' (8:4). The established and wealthy Greek merchants of the mercantile diaspora for the most part wanted nothing to do with the society.

An important group in pre-independence Greek society, which, if it manifested few signs of a coherent nationalist ideology, proved to be a frequent thorn in the flesh in the side of the Ottoman authorities, was composed by the *klefts.* The *klefts* were bandits, men who had taken to the mountains for a variety of reasons, to avoid the payment of taxes, as a result of vendettas or to escape pursuit by the authorities. Because the principal targets of these *klefts* were Ottoman officials or members of the Greek élites they acquired a popular folk image, although there was little that could be considered as explicitly nationalist in their actions. But the very fact of their defiance of the Ottomans made them symbols of national resistance, and their exploits were celebrated in an extensive corpus of kleftic ballads, of which the ballad of Kitzio Andonis is a characteristic example (5:1). The *klefts* were certainly regarded by the Ottoman authorities as a serious threat to the establishment of order and numerous injunctions were issued calling for vigorous measures to suppress their activities (5:2). Principally in order to curb the depredations of the *klefts,* but also to preserve local order and to guard the mountain passes, the Ottoman authorities created a militia, composed of *armatoloi* or Christian irregular troops. Rumeli was divided into some fifteen or so

armatoliks, some of which in the time became hereditary, their leaders being known as *kapetanioi.* In the Peloponnese the function of the *armatoloi* was filled by the *kapoi,* who were in the employ not of the Turks but of the Christian *kocabaşıs.* The dividing line between *klefts, armatoloi* and *kapoi* should not be overstressed, as there was frequent interchange between the groups. It was Greeks who had served in these armed formations who were to provide the military backbone of the Greek revolt. One of the most important of these military leaders of the War of Independence was Theodoros Kolokotronis, who before independence had been a *kleft* and had at one time entered the service of the Deliyannis family as a *kapos.* Kolokotronis' memoirs (10), dictated after the end of the war, afford a graphic insight into the world of the *klefts, armatoloi* and *kapoi* in the pre-independence period. In some sense men such as Kolokotronis can be seen as 'social bandits'.

If the *klefts'* sense of national consciousness was essentially primitive, that of the nascent Greek intelligentsia, many members of which had been exposed to the ideas of the French Revolution and of the European Enlightenment, was much more developed. During the course of the eighteenth century there was an undoubted intellectual revival in the Greek world. Ever-increasing numbers of books in Greek for Greek readers were published, including translations of important Western scientific, political and philosophical texts (6:5). A salient feature of this intellectual revival was the Greeks' rediscovery of their own past. This expressed itself in a variety of ways, in the practice of adopting the names of the worthies of ancient Greece instead of Christian names (6:2), in an appreciation of the Greek language as a direct link with Greece's classical heritage (6:3), and in the growth of disputes about the Greek language, with some championing the contemporary vernacular and others advocating the return to Attic Greek as the sole form of the language befitting the descendants of the Hellenes.

Great strides were made in education. Societies such as the *Philomousos Etairia* or Society of Friends of the Muses, with branches in Athens and Vienna (6:4), were founded, to raise money for schools, to provide scholarships for young Greeks to study abroad, even to carry out archaeological excavations. If the general educational level of the Greeks remained low, a number of colleges came into existence, in Bucharest, Iasi, Chios, Smyrna and Ayvalık (Kydonies) (6:1), with quite advanced curricula which, if the main focus was on classical Greek culture, also included efforts to inculcate a rudimentary scientific knowledge. These schools attracted students from all over the Orthodox world, including Bulgarians, Serbs, Albanians and Romanians. For at this period many Greeks and indeed many of the other subject peoples of the Empire regarded Greek culture as having a unique civilising and unifying

role in the Balkans. This kind of cultural evangelism is well reflected in the poem with which a Vlach priest, Daniil of Moskhopolis, prefaced a tetraglott (Greek–Romanian–Bulgarian–Albanian) lexicon published in Constantinople in 1802 (6:9). The cultural ferment that characterised the Greek world at this time could not but arouse the suspicion of Greek conservatives and of members of the hierarchy of the Church, who equated Western ideas with political radicalism and atheism. Alexandros Kalphoglou in his 'Moral Versification' of 1794 satirised the Francophilia of the Greek youths of Constantinople (6:7), while Mikhail Perdikaris criticised the pretensions of those young Greeks who had gone to Europe to study (6:8). Characteristically, the Church feared that the new emphasis on scientific learning in some of the schools could only be at the expense of godliness and grammatical learning, and its fears were graphically expressed in an encyclical of 1819 issued by the Patriarch Grigorios V and the Holy Synod (6:6).

That there was a considerable degree of cultural ferment in the Greek world is beyond dispute. But what is debatable is the extent to which this affected the great mass of the Greeks, the peasants and urban artisans about whom relatively little is known (1:4). The evidence seems to point to the fact that only a very small, if influential, number of Greeks were influenced by this 'neo-Hellenic enlightenment'. The thought world of most Greeks remained essentially Byzantine. Of far greater significance to most Greeks than the impassioned nationalistic diatribes of the Greek intelligentsia, were the ballads, prophecies and oracles foretelling the eventual liberation of the Christian peoples of the Empire from the impious Hagarene yoke (6:10*a–f*). Some, however, interpreted the prophecies in a negative sense (6:10*d*). If at the appointed time the Turks were not evicted from Europe by divine intervention, this was not taken to signify the inaccuracy of the prophecies. Rather it was held that the Christian Greeks had so far deviated from the divine commands that they could never hope for redemption on earth. But whether interpreted in a negative sense or not, the implication of the prophecies was clearly that nothing the Greeks did of their own accord would bring about liberation. This could only depend on divine favour.

Greeks were certainly fully aware in the decades before independence that the élites within their own society were almost without exception wedded to the Ottoman *status quo,* and were unlikely to provide the leadership of any movement which envisaged emancipation by force. This awareness existed at a popular level in the *Rossanglogallos,* the satirical poem mentioned earlier (7:1). This took the form of a dialogue between a Russian, a Frenchman and an Englishman making the tour of Greece and various representative figures of Greek society and with the embodiment of Greece herself. Many of the strictures levelled in the

Rossanglosgallos at Greek élites were repeated in the *Elliniki Nomarkhia* or *Greek Nomarchy* published anonymously in Italy in 1806 and one of the most remarkable polemical tracts of the Greek independence movement (7:2). The anonymous author singled out as the primary reason for Greece's continued enslavery by the Turks the 'ignorant priesthood and the absence of the best fellow citizens', by which he meant the Greek mercantile bourgeoisie that had developed outside Greece. His strictures against both the clergy and the merchants are bitter indeed, but the work is a stirring call for the Greeks to liberate themselves through their own efforts and not to trust to outside intervention.

But if the élites of Greek society showed a marked reluctance to move, there were increasing numbers of bold spirits who advocated the emancipation of Greece with increasing intensity. Foremost among the advocates of Greek emancipation through education, moral regeneration and the mediation of the Great Powers were Adamantios Korais and Count Ioannis Kapodistrias. Korais, who assumed the role of intellectual mentor of the Greek independence movement, was the son of a Chiot merchant in Smyrna. After an initial and unhappy involvement in commerce in Holland he studied medicine at Montpellier, and in 1788 established himself in Paris from where until his death in 1833 he issued an unending stream of exhortations to the Greeks (8:2). Korais' admiration for all things French was unqualified (8:1), for he believed that the French more closely approximated to the worthies of ancient Greece than any other nation in Europe. He was an ardent advocate of education as the solution to the problems confronting the Greeks, although he was never very specific as to how the Greeks, once they had attained the desired level of education, were to liberate themselves. Moreover, he believed that when the War of Independence did break out in 1821 it was premature, as Greece did not yet have enough men of education to provide leadership for the struggle and to ensure that Greece, in emancipating herself, did not fall into the hands of native tyrants.

Education also loomed large in the scheme of emancipation envisaged by Count Ioannis Kapodistrias, an Ionian nobleman who had entered the service of the Tsar Alexander I of Russia and from 1816 onwards served as joint foreign minister of Russia. He played a leading role, for instance, in the foundation in 1815 of the Vienna branch of the Society of Friends of the Muses (6:4). He believed that Greece should earn the right to liberation through moral regeneration (8:3) and abhorred the plans that he knew were being made by other Greeks for armed insurrection. It is instructive in this connection to note that in his memoirs (8:4) he made no mention of his encounter in St Petersburg in 1820 with Emmanouil Xanthos, one of the founder members of the *Philiki Etairia*, when the latter claimed to have offered Kapodistrias the leadership of the *Philiki*

Etairia (11:2). Essentially Kapodistrias' message was that the Greeks should educate themselves, place their trust in God and bide their time until the international situation might produce circumstances propitious to their emancipation.

Not surprisingly there were other Greeks who had no patience for this kind of gradualist approach. The *klefts* were a permanent running sore in the side of the Ottoman authorities, even if their depredations were seldom motivated by consciously nationalist considerations. But men such as Rigas Velestinlis and Konstantinos Stamatis were conscious nationalists, directly influenced by the French Revolution, and advocates of armed resistance to the Ottomans. Stamatis, a French agent, was an ardent propagandist for French revolutionary ideas, as his exhortation to the Ionian islanders, shortly after they had passed from French to joint Russo/Turkish rule in 1798 indicates (9:4). This particular tract of Stamatis survives in manuscript only, but it is likely that it was printed for circulation among the Greeks. Rigas was born in 1757 in Velestino in Thessaly, the son of a merchant. Forced to emigrate, he served as secretary in Constantinople to Alexandros Ypsilantis, a principal interpreter of the Porte. From Constantinople he went to the Principalities, where he became secretary to a number of Phanariot *hospodars.* It has been suggested that Rigas founded a secret revolutionary society during a visit to Vienna in 1796. This is uncertain but what is certain is that, with a few friends, he engaged in the publication of a number of revolutionary tracts. The most important of these contained a revolutionary proclamation, a declaration of the Rights of Man, and, most important of all, the project of a constitution, *The New Political Constitution of the Inhabitants of Rumeli, Asia Minor, the Archipelago, Moldavia and Wallachia* (9:1–3). This Constitution, which clearly reflected the influence of the French Constitutions of 1793 and 1795, envisaged a kind of restored Byzantine Empire, with republican in the place of monarchical institutions. Although Rigas preached the quality of all the races of the Empire, including the Turks, without distinction of religion or language, it is clear that the Greeks were to enjoy a privileged position in this new Empire. In practical terms Rigas' achievement was small and he was arrested in Trieste in December 1797 on the first stage of a journey during which he was to have preached the gospel of revolution in the Balkans. The Austrian authorities handed him and a number of accomplices over to the Turks, who had them strangled in Belgrade in June 1798.

Yet if in practical terms Rigas achieved little, his martyrdom afforded a powerful example to subsequent advocates of an armed uprising against the Ottomans. The most significant of these formed the membership of the *Philiki Etairia* or Friendly Society, the secret revolutionary society which laid much of the organisational groundwork of the revolt which

broke out in 1821. The *Philiki Etairia* was founded in Odessa by three poor Greek petty merchants, Nikolaos Skouphas, Athanasios Tsakaloff, both from Epirus, and Emmanouil Xanthos, a native of Patmos. Its different grades of membership, elaborate rituals and initiation ceremonies (11:1) betray considerable masonic influence but little sense of any identifiable ideological orientation. Independence was the overriding objective of the *Philiki Etairia* and its members had little conception of the type of society they envisaged for an independent Greek state. The Society, whose activities are most fully reflected in the memoirs of one of its founder members Emmanouil Xanthos (11:2), attracted members from all over the Greek world. Besides merchants, the membership included lawyers, doctors, teachers, students, notables and clergy, although very few peasants or artisans. As the membership of the Society grew, the need for some prominent figurehead to lead the movement was felt. After Ioannis Kapodistrias had rebuffed Xanthos' approaches in 1820, the Society's choice fell on Prince Alexandros Ypsilantis, a member of a leading Phanariot family serving as a general in the armies of the Tsar Alexander I.

It was under Alexandros Ypsilantis' aegis that the initial incursion across the river Pruth in February 1821 was planned, a move that coincided with the more or less spontaneous revolt that broke out in the Peloponnese, thus ushering in the opening stages of the War of Independence. Ypsilantis' initial proclamation (12:1) was a stirring call to the Greeks to throw off the chains of tyranny and to unite with the other Christian peoples of the Balkans against their Turkish overlords. Despite the *Philiki Etairia's* grandiose schemes for a pan-Balkan revolt, the Romanians, Serbs and Bulgarians remained largely indifferent to Ypsilantis' call. Moreover, when the news of the revolt reached Constantinople, Grigorios V and the Holy Synod condemned the revolt in the strongest terms and urged the Greeks to remain loyal to their benevolent overlords (12:2). Grigorios' anathema of Ypsilantis and his followers did little to appease the Ottoman authorities and he was hung at the gate of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople in circumstances of particular brutality (12:3). He was but one of the many victims of Turkish reprisals provoked by the revolt.

But the situation was too far gone for the Greeks to be deterred by reprisals, and the revolt was soon in full force. Ypsilantis' ill-considered revolt in the Principalities was rapidly suppressed, but the insurrection was vigorously prosecuted in the Peloponnese, to the accompaniment of atrocities by both sides. Despite the overwhelming odds which faced the Greeks it was not long before factionalism began to manifest itself among them, factionalism which basically reflected the iternal tensions that had existed in pre-independence Greek society. Despite the internal divisions among them, essentially a conflict between the traditional élites of

pre-independence Greek society who wanted to ensure the continuation of their existing privileges, and the Western-educated modernisers who wanted to introduce all the trappings of a liberal constitutional state, the Greeks were able to maintain the struggle. Undoubtedly, however, the intervention of Ibrahim Paşa with an Egyptian army early in 1825, posed a very real threat to their ability to avoid military defeat. The fact that the Greeks were able to hold out so long impelled the Great Powers, who had initially held aloof from the struggle, to mediate with force between the combatants and so put an end to a situation that was increasingly threatening the interests of the Powers in the Levant. The destruction of the Egyptian fleet at Navarino in October 1827 by a combined British, Russian and French fleet finally ensured the success of the Greek cause, although it was not until 1833 that a fully independent, sovereign Greek state came into existence.

The Ottoman Empire in Europe on the eve of Greek independence

GREEK SOCIETY BEFORE INDEPENDENCE

1 Urban and Rural Life

1:1 GREECE UNDER OTTOMAN RULE: A GREEK PERSPECTIVE (1791)

*Geographia neoteriki, eranistheisa apo diaphorous syngrapheis, para Daniil ieromonakhou kai Grigoriou ierodiakonou ton Dimitrieon. Nun proton typois ekdotheisa epistasia ton idion, kai philotimo khrimatiki syndromi tou entimotatou kyriou Ivou Drosinou Khatzi Ivou tou ex Ambelakion . . .*I (Vienna, 1791; repr., ed. Aikaterini Koumarianou, Athens, 1970) pp. 45–9.

Almost the whole of Greece, in all its extent, is contained in this great power of the Turks, except for the islands which form the Ionian archipelago, and for a very small part of Epirus, which are under the rule of the Venetians.

Under the Turks the modern Greeks would be very happy on account of many good things that are not to be found elsewhere, living in such a temperate climate, in such well-endowed regions, if two factors were absent, one common to the two, the other only [to be found] in the rulers. If, I say, the religious hatred which the Greeks have towards the Turks, and the Turks have for the Greeks, was absent. Ignorance is the cause of this. Every man has to give account to God for his works and his beliefs. Men should love each other like brothers, and at no time should differences of belief be the cause of enmity. [. . .]

The other [factor], that unique to the rulers, is despotic government, which extends throughout all the great Empire of the Turks, and is the cause of great ill in the Empire, and separately to every part of it, to the Turks, to the Greeks, and to all the inhabitants.

The first [i.e. the Sultan], slaying, drowning, hanging, with his will as the only law, sets the example to his chief minister, the latter to others, and so on down to the least. All in Turkey fear for their life and property, particularly the rich, and many get up and go and establish themselves in neighbouring regions, where the laws are sovereign, where the rights of life and property are sovereign, and continually sigh, recalling the beautiful and blessed climes of their native country. In the Austrian Empire there are more than 80,000 families of Greeks from Turkey, a great number in Wallachia and Moldavia, and they are also in Russia, Italy and Poland.

Ah! what an Empire Turkey could be! So awesome on the outside, so

happy internally, if there was good government. The very basis of society, the soul, I say, is law. Without them [laws] society continually tends to utter destruction: good laws protect a person's life, property, honour, freedom, and punish he who would lay hands on them, whoever he may be, as a corrupter of civil society. But Albanians, as much in time of peace as in time of war, move about with banners, destroy villages, burn houses, enslave. . .but why should I recount those things that are known to all? [. . .]

The position of Greece is between 36 and 43 degrees of longtitude. The good lands that it generally has, create in it not only that which is necessary to life, but also that which contributes to prosperity and even to luxury, and becomes a useful export to other regions. Almost everywhere the lands are fruitful in every form of produce, in wheat, barley, maize, millet, sesame; in many areas rice is produced. Everywhere cotton, flax, hemp, silk, oil, figs, wine are cultivated, everywhere are nourished different animals, horses, oxen, buffalo, sheep, goats etc. [. . .]

For all this the inhabitants are unhappy since good government contributes most to prosperity. [. . .] Greece having such a land should never experience hunger, or high prices. The government, however, makes it fall into this evil frequently. Europeans come and take its products; the *ağas* who have the [fertile] plains sell them to these [Europeans] in bulk. On account of profiteering they care little for the natives whom they leave deprived and wronged. Although it is right for the surpluses of one country to be exported to foreign places such are the results of Despotism. [. . .]

What peak of commerce do you expect in a place where the sea teems with pirates, the dry land is full of *klefts* and robbers. The roads are all suspicious and dangerous, for which (reason) the merchants gather in caravans to go to fairs and from one city to another. [. . .] The modern Greeks and other nations subject to the Turks who devote themselves to trade experience a thousand vexations from the Turks who have the custom houses. It is not uncommon to see a wretched Turk ill treat a useful merchant. But these things are known. What need have I to say them?

So therefore, many rich merchants who have experience of other states and are resolved to live by commerce, exile themselves and go and establish themselves in other countries, and a great damage ensues for the country. Others again become subjects of another foreign court to be protected by it in their trade. [. . .]

In so far as trade exists, it is mostly carried on by Europeans, bringing different objects from their countries, and exporting others from this country and gaining millions of *grosia* per year, most of them, perhaps, to the detriment of the natives. [. . .]

The Sultan of Turkey having such a country, so good are the other lands apart from Greece, could have double the revenue of the King of France, if he had a different government and if his lands were cultivated as they might be. [. . .]

1:2 NORTHERN GREECE IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY (1809)

William Martin Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece* (London, 1835) IV, pp. 139–50; 205–10; 266–8; 269–70; 272–4.

Ioannina contains about 1000 Musulman houses, 2000 Greek, and 200 Jewish. The Musulman families are not more numerous than the houses, but of Greeks there are supposed to be near 3000 families, and of Jews not less than four to each house upon an average. The Christians have six or seven churches served by fifty papadhes, or secular priests, who attend also to the private religious observances of the Greek families. The bishop and the priests attached to the metropolitan church, are, as usual, of the monastic order. There are sixteen mosques, including the two in the citadel, where the Jews have two synagogues. Since Ioannina has been the residence and capital of Aly Pasha, its permanent population has been gradually in part exchanged for that of a more transitory kind. The town is now constantly full of the natives of other parts of Greece and Albania, attracted here by the affairs or the expenditure arising from its being the seat of government of a large portion of Greece and Albania. Many families from distant parts of the country are forced to reside here as a security for the fidelity of their relatives who may be in the Vezir's employment either here or in other parts of his dominions. The household establishment and troops of the Vezir and his sons, together with the Albanian soldiery, who are constantly here in their passage from one part of the country to another, increase the moveable population, but probably have not much augmented the whole amount beyond that which Ioannina contained fifty years ago, as many of the old families, both Greek and Turkish, have removed elsewhere to avoid the perils and extortion of the present government, and particularly the inconvenience of lodging Albanians, from which the Turkish houses are not exempt.

Some of the Greek and Turkish houses in the higher parts of the town are among the best that are to be found in the provincial towns of European Turkey, though their external appearance gives little indication of it, in consequence of the custom which prevails here, as in other parts of Turkey, of avoiding the appearance of opulence, of having few windows towards the street, and of guarding them with iron bars of the rudest workmanship. [. . .]

The best Greek houses differ not much in plan from the Turkish [. . .]; but they are rather more comfortable, partly because the Greeks, especially the travelled merchants, have acquired some of the feelings of civilized Europe in this respect, and partly from the difference which is produced in the distribution and economy of the family, from the women not being so much concealed. There is seldom more than one court, and a small one perhaps at the back of the house; but the court is more spacious, with a wider and more ostentatious flight of steps leading to a larger wooden gallery into which all the principal apartments open. The gallery is supported by an arcade of stone continued perhaps along the side of the yard, in which is the gate leading into the street. A small garden sometimes occupies one side of the court, and at the end of the capacious gallery there is generally a raised kiosk. The gallery and kiosk are the usual residence of the family in summer; and here some of the men generally pass the night in that season. As usual both in Greek and Turkish houses, the sofa is the only furniture in sight, the bedding which is spread upon the sofa at night being deposited in closets on the sides of the chambers, and the small table with the round metal tray, which forms the only apparatus for meals, being put aside also when not in immediate use. In these respects Greek customs are nearly the same at Ioannina as in other parts of Turkey, though in some houses a table and chairs of European form are to be found, and Venetian or German mirrors are commonly suspended on the walls. In one or more of the rooms hangs a picture of the Virgin, with a lamp perpetually burning before it; and generally that of the saint whose name is borne by the master of the house, or who, for some reason, is a favourite. Some of these pictures are covered (except the face) with silver, like those in the churches. All the houses of Ioannina are constructed in the lower story of small stones rudely squared and very ill cemented; the upper apartments are in general of wood. Every large house is furnished with a well, affording, at no great depth, an abundant supply of excellent water, which is very cold even in the midst of summer. But Ioannina is otherwise well situated to afford the luxury of cool liquors – Mitzikeli and Olytzika supplying snow in the early part of the season, and the mountain of Syrako to the latest period.

The domestic manners of the Greeks of Ioannina have in general been very little affected by the long residence of many of the merchants in foreign countries, and, as in other parts of Turkey, seem not to have undergone any great alteration since the time of Homer. That they are almost identical with those of the Turks, except in those points in which their respective religions have drawn a line, or given rise to a difference, may be attributed to the tincture of Oriental customs, which is traceable in the language and manners of the Greeks of every age, arising from their position on the borders of the eastern world. But though the resemblance may thus partly be traced to a common origin, the greater part of the

Turkish customs have probably been adopted by the Turks in the progress of their conquest of Asiatic and European Greece, during which they gradually exchanged the rude and simple habitudes of Tartary for the refinement and luxuries of the Byzantine empire.

The Greek women of Ioannina are as uneducated as the Turkish, and are held in that degree of subserviency which is their common lot throughout Greece, and which seems indeed to have been their ordinary condition among the ancients. Little respect is paid to age, especially when the parents, as often happens, are in part maintained by their children, and live in the same house. Girls are never married without a portion; to provide for which, and to make a suitable alliance for their daughters is the most anxious care of the parents, and is generally done without consulting the girl, or even allowing her to see her future lord and master. Brothers often supply their sisters with portions; and it is even common among the young Greeks to refrain from taking a wife themselves until their sisters are married. Young women seldom or never go out of the house before marriage, except to church, which is generally in the night. When they begin to visit, it is considered that themselves and parents have given up all hope of matrimony; but they are the more unwilling to come to this determination, as parents, aided by the custom of seclusion, sometimes succeed in concealing the age of their daughters. From such manners naturally arise ignorance, inelegance, and an early decay of beauty. The walk of the women is particularly uncouth, not so much caused by their confinement or their dress as by a persuasion prevailing among all but the peasantry, who walk as nature has taught them, that a rolling, waddling gait, is a proof of refinement; so that it is a compliment to tell a lady that she walks like a goose. The common employment of the women, besides the usual domestic occupations, are the embroidery of coarse German muslins, in imitation of those of Constantinople.

One of the chief distinctions of Ioannina is its two colleges for education, and the libraries belonging to them. There is a collection of books also at the metropolitan church, but the Fathers and the Byzantine history are almost the only works which the kalogheri have to boast of. At the head of the old school, the origin of which is beyond tradition, is Cosma Balano, a very respectable old man, whose father was master before him. In this establishment, which lately has derived its chief support from the Zosimadhes,* grammar and the usual Hellenic authors are taught, as in many of the schools of Greece. In the other, 100 scholars are instructed in Greek, history, geography, and philosophy. The latter college was founded by Pikrozoi, a native merchant, who bequeated 800 purses, the interest of which, together with other donations, affords a salary of 2000 piastres to the [*arkhididaskalos*] Athanasius Psalidha, besides supporting two

*[A wealthy Greek merchant family.]

assistants, and giving a small yearly donation to each scholar. The same Pikrozoi built a church and hospital at Ioannina. The total of the [*diaphoron*], or annual interest of the funds of the two schools, is now 60 purses. Besides these are several small grammar schools, kept by individuals generally of the secular priesthood, whose acquirements do not extend beyond the Hellenic of the Greek Testament. In the midst of summer it is not uncommon to see one of these teachers seated under a tree in the suburbs of the town surrounded by thirty or forty scholars. They receive generally a piastre a week from the poorest of their scholars.

It is said that one of the most efficient instruments in persuading the Greeks to establish schools as the best mode of improving the nation, was a monk of Apokuro named Kosma, who during eight years travelled over the country as a preacher, and made this subject a principal theme of his discourses. He was in other respects also a reformer, as he succeeded in persuading the women of Zagori to lay aside a great shapeless head-dress, similar to those of some of the *Aegean* islands, for a simple kerchief. He fell a martyr to his zeal, having been put to death in 1780 by Kurt Pasha.

It is probably rather a consequence of the Vezir's indifference to the distant consequences of his measures and with a view to some supposed immediate advantage, than with any better feeling, that he has always encouraged education among the Greeks. He frequently recommends it to the attention of the bishops, the generality of whom thinking only of accumulation and acting exactly like Turks in office, are too much disposed to neglect it. To the old schoolmaster, Balano, he often holds the same language, exhorting him to instruct the youth committed to his care with diligence, to give them a good example, and never to entertain any doubts of receiving his countenance and protection. His oppression is light upon monasteries compared with that which he exercises upon villages and individuals, and he has lately in particular favoured the monastery of St. Naoum, between Korytza and Akhrida. Not that he is ever at any personal expence [*sic*] on these occasions: for example, when a rock not long ago, fell upon the convent of St. Pandeleimona, in the island of the lake of Ioannina, he ordered the expence of the repairs to be defrayed by an assessment upon some of the chief Greeks of Ioannina; and Kyr D. A. the most eminent merchant here, having recently given him some cause of discontent, became the principal sufferer by the fall of the rock.

The Greek spoken at Ioannina is of a more polished kind than is usually heard in any part of Greece Proper; its phrases are more Hellenic, and its construction more grammatical. This is a natural consequence of the schools long established here, and of the residence of many merchants, and others who have travelled or dwelt in civilized Europe. The observation applies however to the Greeks alone. Among the Turks and Musulman Albanians every tenth word of the Greek which they speak is Turkish, and

this among the native Mahometans is often all the Turkish they know. [. . .]

JULY 29.—Setting out yesterday evening at sunset, I rode from Ioannina to the monastery of Eleokali on Mount Drysko, on the way to Kalarytes, and this morning at daybreak proceeded as on a former occasion, by the Khan on the left bank of the river Arta, and by that of Golfi, on the ascent to the church of St. George, where we arrived at 8.30, A. M. A wide portico round the church is the only accommodation for travellers. Our arrival having been announced to the town by the firing of musquets [*sic*], a party of the principal inhabitants, headed by Kyr K. Turturi, acting as hodja-bashi for his brother, and accompanied by the Subashi, or Albanian governor, preceded by a gypsey band of music, arrive in an hour at the church. They bring with them a lamb roasted whole, wine, bread, and salad; and soon after their arrival we all sit down to dinner. A long cloth is spread in the portico, the meat is partly cut and partly torn in pieces by the servants, and spread about the cloth; some sit upon carpets, and some upon the pavement. The gypsies strike up their music, which consists of two drums, two violins, two tabors, a sort of oboe, with another wind instrument, and a fife out of which they produce the most piercing notes. The vocal performances with which they accompany it are equally distressing to the ears, to make as much noise as possible being the chief concern.

After dinner we have some Kleftic songs, of which the exploits of the Suliote heroes are the subject, and those of the celebrated robber Kartz-Andonio, who slew the no less famous Bolu-bashi Vely Gheghe, sent against him by Aly Pasha. These heroic songs are followed by erotic, with a chorus of Po, Po, Po. The Albanian governor then rises, and leads the dance with bare feet.

At 10 we descend the ridge through the wood before described; both Turks and Christians firing their musquets as we proceed, and causing a surprising increase of sound and echo amidst the precipices which overhang the winding river. It is remarkable, that at the river itself the same explosion produces no more than the ordinary sound, without any echo. After three quarters of an hour consumed in ascending the zig-zag path from the river to the town, we enter it among crowds of spectators. Kalarytes has increased since 1805 in riches and comfort, and is almost the only place that reflects any credit upon Aly's government. Every year the return of the merchants to their native country produces some new houses. There are now upwards of 500; and 620 heads of families are enrolled in the tax-book, those of the first class are rated this year at 800 piastres, the second at 400, the third at 200, and the fourth, which consists of many sub-divisions, from 100 to 5. A few of the poorest families pay nothing. The whole amount received by the Vezir is 70,000

piastres, or about 4,000*l.* sterling. The town has now a public debt of 250 purses, the interest of which is to be provided for, in addition to the sums just mentioned; it is lower than in any other place, on account of the better security, and 10 per cent. from the [*kassa*], or public chest of Kalarytes, is considered by the monied [*sic*] men of Ioannina as preferable to a higher gain anywhere else. The Vezir sometimes however, when he wishes to satisfy a favourite, sends him with a buyurdi, ordering the Kalarytiotes to take the bearers money at 12 per cent. whether they want it or not.

The lands around the village, which formerly supplied the inhabitants with corn for a part of the year, have been neglected with the increase of wealth and population, as it answers better in general to import corn and flour than to cultivate such a wretched soil. In the present year, however, they feel the loss of this culture, in consequence of a dearth of corn in Thessaly, which, it is reckoned, has caused an expenditure of 60,000 piastres for provisions beyond that of last year.

A part of the territory is destined to the pasture of oxen, for which 3 piastres a head are paid to the kassa of the town: for a horse or mule fed on another common destined for them, 5 piastres. The remaining pastures are destined to sheep and goats, the charge for which is 500 piastres a year for a mandra of 2000. The Eleftherokhoria of the mountains of Greece in general derive their principal revenue from their pastures, which are common property. This illustrates the ancient [*epinomia*], – a privilege which was often conferred, together with other rights of citizenship, on foreign benefactors, who then had the right of feeding their sheep and cattle on the same terms as citizens. Sometimes the pasturage was in part let for the benefit of the [*tameion*], or public chest, or allotted as security for borrowed money.

Building is expensive at Kalarytes. A woman who brings a large stone upon her back from the quarry, which is about a mile from the extremity of the town, receives each time 6 paras, and can make ten trips per diem; the expence in quarrying is 2 paras more, so that by the time the stone is put into the wall it costs not less than 10 paras: the smaller stones are brought by mules. Plakes, or rough slabs of the same kind of calcareous stone, for roofing, are 10 piastres the hundred, great and small. Timber is cut and brought from Pramanda and Melisurgus, or from a large wood on the eastern side of the mountains in the road to Trikkala, distant about 3 hours. A scantling of fir from the forest of Pramanda, which is generally brought on the shoulder of the person who shapes it there, is sold here from 35 to 40 paras.

According to a sumptuary custom of this republic, which has all the force of a law, the head of a family of the first class cannot give his daughter more than 1000 piastres dowry, her wardrobe included: the

other classes in proportion. Another confines the dresses of the women to particular kinds of stuff.

The Albanian Subashi who is head of the police has only two palikaria to assist him. He decides all trifling differences, receiving a fee from the parties, and even adjudicates in small processes for debt, for which he takes 10 per cent.; but all the more important civil questions are subject to the arbitration of the primates, and are ultimately submitted to the Vezir. Another perquisite of the Subashi is 2 per cent. for collecting the contributions, according to a list furnished by the hodja-bashi and his assessors. The Subashi has the power of punishing in three modes: 1. by imprisonment; 2. by quartering his palikaria upon the house of the offender; 3. by turning out the family and sealing up the door; all of which in the greater number of instances may be remitted for money. Without quarrels in the village the Subashi would starve, as he receives no pay from his master. But in fact his place is so desirable for a poor Albanian soldier, that he takes care never to exceed his powers, or to give cause for complaints against him by the primates.

Matzuki has become a tjiftlik of the Vezir since my last visit to these mountains. Unable to pay the impositions, the poor villagers were obliged to borrow money at Ioannina or elsewhere, at an interest of 20 per cent., or even at 2 per cent. per mensem. Their difficulties having been of course increased by this measure, some of the inhabitants fled to Agrafa, the rest presented themselves to the Vezir with an offer to sell the whole village and its territory. The price demanded was 12 purses and the public debt. His Highness had no difficulty in declaring the place his tjiftlik; but instead of 12 purses he gave only 2, and instead of paying the debts, referred the creditors to the Matzukiotes who had fled to Agrafa.

Khaliki, at the sources of the *Achelous*, once the most important modern village of *Pindus*, and from whence came many of the chief families of Kalarytes, is on the point of being deserted on account of the excessive burthen of the taxes, and of a debt of 100 purses. When the village was in its prosperity the inhabitants abandoned their corn for sheep, and have now very little of either, their property consisting almost entirely of horses and mules, with which they gain a livelihood as carriers. Yet the annual contribution is still from 400 to 700 piastres from the head of a family. [. . .]

Agrafa [. . .] is another division of the country which existed under the Greek empire. It contains the mountains to the southward of Trikkala, and though considered as a part of the liva of Tirhala, has enjoyed particular privileges dating perhaps from a remote period in the Byzantine empire, when the villages were 'not written down' in the publicans' books, and the inhabitants of the district accounted in a body for their taxes. To judge from the names of places, and from the absence of every language but the

Greek, Agrafa had preserved itself before the Turkish conquest from admixture with Bulgarians and Wallachians in a greater degree than most other parts of Greece. Fifteen years ago it still enjoyed the self-government which it obtained by capitulation with Mahomet II, when he had conquered Albania; the imperial [*khrysovoulon*] which he granted to the Agrafiotes on that occasion they assert to be still in existence in the Fanari at Constantinople. Every year there were chosen by ballot an archon and five or six assessors, forming a council, which had the power of inflicting capital punishment. A Christian captain with 200 men and a Mahometan Albanian with 300, kept the police of the district, and ensured the safety of the roads, under the direction of the archons.

Of late years various circumstances have injured the republic, and have had the effect of diminishing in some degree its population. Internal dissensions, both in individual and between neighbouring villages, have been a leading cause, to which may be added the natural advantages of the northern or *Thessalian* side of Agrafa over the southern or *Aetolian,* giving rise to an assumption of superiority by the former portion of the people, and sometimes to positive ill-usage on their part towards the latter. Meantime the pursuit of Greek and Albanian robbers has given Aly as Dereventli a pretext for entering the country with his troops; while steadily pursuing his object of permanently establishing his own Albanians as guardians of the police of the district, in the room of the armatoli employed by the Agrafiotes, he has encroached on their privileges, fomented their jealousies, and raised contributions upon them. One of his first acts was to obtain possession of the person of Tjolak Oglu of Rendhina, whom he kept in prison until he had extorted 80 purses from him. He then gave him permission to return home; but as many of the dismissed armatoli had become robbers themselves, and thrown the country around Rendhina into a state of insecurity, the proestos declined the favour, and intreated permission to reside at Ioannina, preferring, as he told His Highness, to be cut off by the sword of a Vezir, to being shot by [. . .] the rusty musket of a robber. In general it may be remarked that compliments and asseverations to His Highness, turn chiefly upon hanging, drowning in the lake, shooting, or beheading. [. . .]

Agrafa contains 85 villages and 7685 houses, in which, fifteen years ago, there were more than 50,000 inhabitants, but their number is now supposed to be somewhat reduced. There are fifteen large and many smaller monasteries, and the remains of about eighteen Hellenic towns or fortresses. The chief town, formerly the residence of the archon and council is Rendhina, which contains 450 houses: it is situated three or four hours to the westward of Iannitzu, and consequently, like many other capitals, is very far from being in a central situation. [. . .]

Although Agrafa consists of mountains and narrow rocky valleys, the

chief exceptions being the plain called Nevropoli, near the sources of the eastern branch of the Aspro, and the eastern declivities of the mountains to the southward of Megali Kastania, industry, security, and in some parts a fertile soil, had enabled the Agrafiotes to export several kinds of agricultural produce to the rich but desolate districts around them. The following are stated to have been the exports:— 15,000 fortomata of wine, of 100 okes the fortoma; 100,000 okes of butter, 200,000 of cheese, 200,000 of wool [. . .] 4000 of silk, 2000 of honey, 40,000 [. . .] head of sheep and goats; 2000 of oxen and cows. The prices at present are, butter one [*grosion*] or piastre the oke; cheese 15 paras; honey 20 paras; wax 5 piastres; wine 8 piastres the fortoma; a sheep 8 piastres; a goat 5 piastres; a cow 30 piastres; an ox for labour 30 piastres; wheat six paras the oke; a hen 15 paras; a chicken 10 paras. The corn produced in Agrafa is seldom sufficient for its consumption, but requires the addition of about a sixth.

The villages which are least favoured in respect of soil have resources in the manufacture of various articles of cotton and wool, such as coarse cloths, shawls for the head and girdle, and towels. It is reckoned that one-third of the inhabitants of Agrafa gain a livelihood by weaving. There are also many workers in gold and silver; and at Sklatina is a fabric of sword-blades, gun-barrels, and locks of pistols, which last are sold at 15 piastres each. A large portion of the Agrafiotes, like the other mountaineers of Greece, gain a livelihood abroad as shopkeepers or artisans, or as carriers in the neighbouring districts. The mountains to the northward and eastward are of dark-coloured rock, and covered with woods of pine and oak: in the opposite direction the rocks are white, bare, and full of caverns, in some of which are monasteries and remains of hermitages, particularly a convent named Stana, and another near Karitza. [. . .]

1:3 LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT: THE EXAMPLE OF CHIOS

Ambroise Firmin Didot, *Notes d'un Voyage fait dans le Levant en 1816 et 1817* (Paris, 1826) pp. 136–7.

[. . .] They the Turks seem to be much softer in this island than elsewhere, and while in almost the whole of Turkey, where the Greeks alone speak two languages, the Turks believe it dishonourable to speak another language than their own, here they all know how to speak Greek, and sometimes are even ignorant of their own tongue. The capitulation which the inhabitants of Chios made to Mehmet II, before being subjugated by his armies which were already everywhere victorious, has afforded this island great advantages. The Greeks there have almost complete self-government, and the form of their administration is a sort of aristocracy. Every year, 'four old men of the people' (*dimogerontes*) are

chosen from the richest and most distinguished class. They give account at the end of each year of their administration which is unpaid, and, in relinquishing their annual charge, each one of them designates his successor. These are the people who regulate matters, judge the differences that have arisen between Greeks, and even between Greeks and Turks. Sometimes the Turks themselves choose this kind of high court, in which the notables sit, to judge their own differences. They can, it is true, appeal to Ottoman justice, but then the *dimogerontes* no longer wish to receive their complaints, and put them in a way outside the law. So that the house of the *kadı* falls into ruins, not perhaps on account of his probity, but because he has so few proceedings to judge.

The governor has no power. For, if he wants to carry out some act of authority, one sees the Turks unite with the Greeks to chase him out [. . .]

1:4 GREEK ARTISANS: THE CORPS OF *SUYOLCUS* IN CONSTANTINOPLE

Antoine François Andreossy, *Voyage a l'embouchure de la Mer Noire ou Essai sur le Bosphore* . . . (Paris, 1818) pp. 242–7.

The Corps of Suyolcus

The corps of *suyolcus*, or water workers, is today made up of three hundred Turks, taken from among the inhabitants of the capital, and of about a hundred Albanian Greeks, chosen exclusively from certain families in the district of Drinopolis, in Epirus, of which Argyrokastro [Gjirokastër] is the capital, and distinguished by the name of Lonjides [. . .] The inhabitants of five or six villages from the subdistrict of Riza migrate to follow the craft of *suyolcu* in Constantinople and the main towns of the Empire. This small and industrious group appear to be of Greek origin, although they freely speak Albanian [. . .]

No Albanian Greek can be preferred over a Lonji for employment as a water worker. This always passes from the father to the male children. If the son who is to enjoy this employment is of such an age as not to be able to fill it, the corps assigns a guardian to him, until he is in a position to exercise it. When a water worker dies and leaves no male child, the corps is authorised in this case alone to sell his employment. And the total amount, which almost always reaches between twenty or thirty purses, is placed at the disposal of his widow, for herself and her other children.

The water workers, under the terms of a *hatt-i şerif*, are no longer required to pay the *harac*. The *su nazırı* under whose sole charge they are, has furnished them with a *tezkere* of protection, which exempts them from forced labour, an advantage which other *raya* do not possess. This *hat-ı şerif* goes back to Sultan Murad IV [1623–40] [. . .]

The *su nazırı* is named by the Sultan. He is normally chosen from the junior officials of his palace. His annual salary is 3000 piastres. He has in addition the revenues and control of the twelve villages where there are works connected with the supply of water: these villages are Bahçëkoy, Belgrade, Pyrgos, Pirinciköy, Çebeçiköy, Boğazköy, Küçükköy, Kavasköy, Çıfıt Burgaz, Kalfaköy, Küçük Çekmece, Lıtros. The *su nazırı* has no knowledge of the matter which he is charged with administering. The Greek water workers themselves no longer receive theoretical instruction. They have only the principles and procedures of tradition, orally transmitted through the family. What they know they know well. They give account of their ideas with great clarity, and they operate on the ground with equal dexterity and exactitude. [. . .]

The Greeks of Argyrokastro [. . .] have preserved from father to son, from a very remote time, the tradition of conduits with *suterazisi* [. . .] The Turks subsequently imitated them, and established water workers and sappers, more to exploit the revenues of these places than to carry out major constructions. The works carried out under the Turkish sultans consist of two types, those of arcaded aqueducts and of *suterazisi.* The water main between Bahçeköy and Pera [Beyoğlu] is an example. But the Greek families of Argyrokastro still have the right to carry out these sorts of work in the capital, and it is individuals of these families who construct the water conduits which present the most difficulties [. . .]

1:5 AN URBAN RIOT IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE: THE SMYRNA 'REBELLION' OF 1797

Public Record Office: State Papers 105/126

To the Right Honorable the Governor and the Right Worshipful the Company of Merchants trading to the Levant Seas, in London.

Smyrna April 2d 1797

Right Hon(oura)ble Sir and Right Worshipful Sirs,

My last letter dated the 17th. ult(im)o gave your Worships the melancholy advice of the destruction of the Franck Street, which was inhabited by the Consuls and European Merchants of all Nations, by the Turks wilfully and intentionally setting fire to the houses on Wednesday in the morning the 15th March. By which disastrous calamity, Your Worship's Consularian house, magazines, Chaplain's Apartments and the Library are entirely consumed. Nearly the whole of the furniture of the Chaplain's rooms is burnt and a great part of mine, with my whole stock of Liquor in my Cellar, which was for a private stock considerable. The Chapple and the Cancellaria, with a magazine used as a stable, are the only remaining part of the Consularian premises, the Cancellaria by the violence of the flames has received some damage. The Hospital situated at a distance, by the attention of some Greeks, is also preserved with trifling

damage. The loss sustained by the Merchants of our Factory is very Considerable and the very necessary attention requisite at this juncture for recovering their property from the Plunderers prevents them from ascertaining their respective losses. Of all this once flourishing place there only remains four European houses, two of which are English [. . .]

The violence and rapidity of the Flames devoured and destroyed stone buildings which had withstood the violence of former fires. But in this no assistance of Fire Engines was to be had. The Turks firing on all in the streets and massacring all they met and preventing any aid being given. The Horrors of that dreadful day is beyond description, the number killed, burnt &c amount, by the Greek accounts, to upwards of Fifteen hundred, the Brutal violence committed on Women and taking Children into the Turk town and selling them have rendered many familys truly miserable. In Fact, in the midst of peace and living under the protection of the Capitulations, We have been treated as savages only could treat enemys in the most furious rage of War.

The savage brutality of the Natives had been nearly equalled by the atrocious behaviour of the Crews of the shipping there in the Bay and I must particularly specify the Venetian Ships and the Russians, whose crews are chiefly Cephaloniotes. These landed armed and broke open the Fire magazines plundering and carrying off the property they found thereon, and have damaged us equally with the fire. [. . .]

On the 20th. [. . .] I wrote Mr Smith [British Minister in Constantinople] in the most pressing terms that he would procure a firman to be sent to the Agha at Magnesia, Cara Osman Oglou. But to our very great astonishment no measures that we know of for certain has [*sic*] been taken for our security. This delay may, however, have been owing to the detention of our Couriers, as the weather has been extreemly bad in the road to Constantinople. Our wishes to have the Agha of Magnesia arises from his natural kindness to the Christians, as well as that he is a very great sufferer by the behaviour of his Countrymen in Smyrna.

Having very briefly communicated to your Worships in my letter of the 17th the apparent cause of the general ruin brought on us, I shall here mention it more fully.

A Company of Rope dancers came here from Constantinople about the middle of February last. Being Italians, subjects of the Emperor, they were protected by the Imperial [Habsburg] Consul, and Exhibited their feats on a piece of Ground in a Street adjoining to Franck Street. On Sunday the 5th March some disturbance happened there, between Candiote Turks and some Zantiotes, which was however quelled. The Sunday following the Musselim had placed his guards on the spot to prevent the Exhibition, which however for some cause, was redered ineffectual and the Exhibition went on. The Imperial & the Venetian Consuls' Janisarys [*sic*] were placed at the door to preserve order. A Sclavonian or a Cephaloniote, under either

the Venetian or Russian protection, climbed up the fence to overlook the place. The Janissary, in obliging him to descend, struck him, the fellow ran off, and very shortly returned with some of his countrymen armed. They attacked the Janisarys at the door of [. . . ?] [? after] the affray the Venetian Janisary was shot with a pistol. This unfortunate business was the immediate cause of all our misfortunes. The other Janisary comrade to the deceased, both of them of the 31st *orta* or regiment, took the bloody shirt & excited the strongest sentiments of revenge in the regiment. He paraded through all the Coffee houses till finally they surrounded the Molah and demanded to have the murderer given up to them.

[On Wednesday, 15 March, following vain attempts at mediation by the European consuls during the previous 48 hours] at 9 o'clock the Janisarys and a tumultuous mob entered Franck Street cutting to pieces all they met or found in shops and finally set fire in several places to the houses. From that minute all was horror and confusion, and the houses was [*sic*] abandoned with their furniture by the inhabitants, whose only Asylum was the Ships. The furious Turks meeting no opposition passed in a body my house. My Gates was open to afford asylum to those of our neighbours who could get from their houses, they offered no violence to me, they returned and joined the main body near Mr Maltass's, who were committing all sorts of disorders. The horrors of that day is not to be described – the wilful, and I much fear the intended, neglect of Executive Power in this City are highly Culpable. Contrary to all former practice neither Molah, Musselim or any Turk officer was present, whose particular duty it is to attend all those distressing moments to give orders to pull down houses &c. and to protect & encourage the Greeks working at the Engines. For the want of which not a Greek was to be seen.

I have the honour to be with the greatest respect.
Right Honorable Sir and Right Worshipful Sirs,
Your faithful Obedient Humble Servant
Francis Werry

1:6 THE DECLINE OF OTTOMAN CENTRAL AUTHORITY: THE *AYANS* AND *DEREBEYS*

(*a*) Ali Pasa of Tepelen: The Lion of Ioannina

John Cam Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania and other provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople during the years 1809 and 1810* (London 1813) I, pp. 114–21.

Ali was born at Tepellene, about the year 1750; for he is now past sixty years old, though he carefully conceals his age; and, notwithstanding a disorder which is considered incurable, still carries the appearance of a

healthy middle-aged man. His father was a Pasha of two tails but of no great importance. [. . .] By degrees [. . .] he made himself master first of one village, then of another, and amassing some money, increased his power, and found himself at the head of a considerable body of Albanians, whom he paid by plunder; for he was then only a great robber, or one of those independent freebooters, of whom there are so many in the vast extent of the Turkish empire. [. . .]

Ali at last collected money enough to buy a pashalik (not that of Ioannina, but one of less importance), and being invested with that dignity, he was only more eager to enlarge his possessions; for he continued in constant war with the neighbouring Pashas, and finally got possession of Ioannina, of which he was confirmed Pasha by an imperial firman. He then made war on the Pashas of Arta, of Delvino, and of Ocrida, whom he subdued, together with that of Triccala, and established a very preponderating influence over the Agas of Thessaly. Giaffar, Pasha of Vallona, he poisoned by a cup of coffee, in a bath at Sophia. and he strengthened himself by marrying his two sons, Mouctar and Veli, to the daughters of Ibrahim, the successor and brother of Giaffar: since that time he has made war on Ibrahim himself, and added considerably to the territories of Ioannina, by curtailing those of his relation.

During this progress, he had been, more than once, called upon to furnish his quota of troops to the imperial armies, and had served in person against the Germans and Russians; but he knew his countrymen too well, ever to trust himself at court. He never would accept of any great office, and always found some pretence to avoid giving his personal attendance on the Grand Vizier of the day, who, it is known, had many orders to arrest him. Stories are told of the skill and courage with which he counteracted several schemes to procure his head – a present that would have been most acceptable to the Porte ever since the commencement of his career: however, he fought against Paswan Oglou, under the banners of the Sultan; and on his return from Widin, in the year 1798, was made a Pasha of three tails, or Vizier. He has had several offers of being made Grand Vizier.

He next contrived to procure pashaliks for both his sons; the younger of whom, Veli, who resembles his father in his capacity and ambition, saved money enough in his first post to buy the pashalik of the Morea, with the dignity of Vizier, for three thousand purses of five hundred piasters [*sic*] each. His eldest son, Mouctar, of a more warlike, but less ambitious turn than his brother, has of late supplied his father's place at the head of the Albanians that have joined the armies of the Porte; and has greatly distinguished himself [. . .]

The difficulties which Ali had to encounter in establishing his power, did not arise so much from the opposition he met with from the

neighbouring Pashas, as from the nature of the people, and of the country of which he was determined to make himself master. Many of the parts which now compose his dominions, were peopled by inhabitants who had been always in rebellion, or had never been entirely conquered by the Turks; such as the Chimeriotes, the Sulliotes, and the nations living amongst the mountains in the neighbourhood of the coast of the Ionian Sea. Besides this, the woods and hills of every part of his government were, in a manner, in possession of large bands of robbers, who were recruited and protected by the villages; and who laid large tracts under contribution; burning and plundering the districts under the Pasha's protection. Against these he proceeded with the greatest severity: they were burnt, hanged, beheaded, and impaled, and have disappeared from many parts, especially of Upper Albania, which were before quite subject to these outlaws.

A few months before our arrival in the country, a large body infesting the mountains between Ioannina and Triccala, were defeated and dispersed by Mouctar Pasha, who cut to pieces a hundred of them on the spot. These robbers had been headed by a Greek Priest, who, after the defeat of his men, went to Constantinople, procured a firman of protection, and returned to Ioannina, where the Vizier invited him to a conference, and seized him as he was leaving the room. He was detained, and well treated, in prison, until a messenger could go to and return from Constantinople, with permission from the Porte for Ali to do what he pleased with his prisoner.—It was the arm of this man which we had seen suspended from the bough, on entering Ioannina.

It is by such vigorous measures that the Vizier has rendered many parts of Albania, and the contiguous country, perfectly accessible, which were before annually over-run by robbers; and consequently by opening the country to merchants, and securing their persons and goods, has not only increased his own revenues, but bettered the condition of his subjects. He has built bridges over the rivers, raised causeways across the marches, laid out frequent roads, adorned the country and the towns with new buildings, and by many wholesome regulations has acted the part of a good and great Prince, without perhaps a single other motive than that of his own aggrandisement.

The influence of Ali extends far beyond the limits of his dominions, and is feared and felt throughout the whole of European Turkey. It would, however, be very difficult to give the actual boundaries of his present dominions; for in the extent of his territory, there is occasionally to be found an isolated district, which still resists his arms; and his attempts on the neighbouring Pashas are not always attended with success. [. . .]

At present, his dominions extend (taking Ioannina for a centre) one hundred and twenty miles to the north, as far as the pashalik of Ocrida; to the north-east and east over Thessaly, and touching the feet of Mount

Olympus; to the south-east the small district of Thebes, and part of that attached to the Negroponte, bound his territories; which, however, on this side include the populous city of Livadia (Lebadea) and its district, and will soon, it is expected, comprise Attica, and afterwards the above-mentioned country. To the south he commands as far as the Gulf of Lepanto, and the Morea belongs to his son. The Ionian Sea and the Gulf of Venice, are his boundaries to the south-west and west, and to the north-west the pashalik of Scutari, and the banks of the Drino; but on this side, the pashalik of Vallona intervenes. Parga, on the coast opposite to Corfu, belongs to the French, and the Chimeriotes can scarcely be said to depend entirely on his authority.

Throughout the whole of the country so bounded, the imperial firman is but little respected; whilst a letter with the signature of Ali commands unlimited obedience. The Vizier is now absolute lord, as a Greek of Ioannina told me, of fifty small provinces; and should his projects of aggrandisement succeed, the countries which anciently composed the southern part of Illyricum, the kindom of Epirus, part of Macedonia, the whole Thessalian territory, Eubaea, and all the Grecian States, will be under the dominion of a barbarian who can neither write nor read. His tyranny is complete; although the form of subjection to the Porte is still preserved, and he furnishes his contingent of men to the Ottoman armies, and pays, besides, a certain part of his tribute to the Grand Signior. [. . .]

The early acquisitions of this extraordinary man were made by force of arms; but his latter aggrandisements have been generally accomplished by the proper disposal of his treasures, which are reported to be very great, but the probable amount of which it is impossible to calculate. Of the tenth of all produce collected for the Porte, the Vizier has, at least, a fourth part; he has also near four hundred villages his own property; and, besides, claims from all towns and districts, arbitrary sums for protection. I have seen a computation, which sets down his revenues at 6,000,000 of piasters, independent of those casual levies, and the presents which are made to him by his Christian subjects. Add to this, that all his work is done gratis, and his kitchens and stables furnished by the towns where he has any establishment. He not only gives free quarter to himself and retinue in his numerous expeditions through his dominions, but his soldiers, who only receive about twelve piasters a month from him, are found in bread and meat wherever they go, by the inhabitants of the towns and villages; so that he is able to reserve much of his money for emergencies, for bribing the ministers of the Porte, and buying his neighbours' territories. He is not at much expence [*sic*] in purchasing the male or female slaves of his household; for with these he furnishes himself from the families of the robbers whom he executes, or compels to fly. [. . .]

In his younger years Ali was not a very strict Mahometan; but he has lately become religious, and entertains several Dervishes at his court; yet he does not at all relax in his ambitious efforts; and having no use for books, employs all the hours that he is absent from his harem in designs of future conquest. He is still an active horseman, and there is scarcely a village in his dominions which he does not visit once a year. I believe him, from good authority, never to have received even the education usually given to the Albanians. Besides his native tongue, he talks Greek fluently, but of the Turkish language he knows very little [. . .]

(*b*) The Derebeys of Anatolia as Protectors of the Christian Raya

G. G. Pappadopoulos and G. P. Angelopoulos, *Ta kata ton aoidimon protathlitin tou ierou ton Ellinon agonos ton Patriarkhin Konstantinoupoleous Grigorion ton E* (Athens, 1866) II, pp. 520–1.

Grigorios, deacon, to Anthimos, Bishop of Methoni. Smyrna 4 August 1776

Divine Providence ordained that the place [the Peloponnese] should be devastated. And daily there disembark here [Smyrna] countless men with their wives and children and find, my Lord, government. The Lord God was angry with them over there, but here he feels compassion for them, for the *ağas* of Anatolia are jealous as to who should first take them to their own district and build churches for them, construct houses for them, in separate Greek villages, with exemption from the *harac* for ten years. It is in this way that the labourers are governed. The rest, where they are used to buying and selling, go to the towns and manage very well. There are several families from my own district. I decided to bring my relatives here, that is to say my two sisters and my mother, for all the others of us are here, so that I can marry them according to her [his mother's] wish, with some fellow-countryman, so that I may rest more at ease.

1:7 A GREEK RURAL ÉLITE: THE *KOCABAŞIS*

Photakos Khrysanthopoulos, *Apomnimonevmata peri tis Ellinikis Epanastaseos*, ed. Stavros Andropoulos (Athens, 1899) I, pp. 32–4.

The *kocabaşıs* or *proychountes* had not the consent of the people, as some write and say, but were a body united in their own interests. They also had a system, and even though it [the system] was divided into two, each part followed and served the division and faction of the Turks and shared their mentality. For the Greeks had more spirit than the Turks and knew letters.

On account of this, it seemed that, politically speaking, these [*kocabaşıs*] governed, because they gave advice and plans to the Turks to carry out in their interest, and to lay low their opponents, that is to say the faction of the other Turks and their Greek followers. Each faction wanted to have power to rule the place and to enrich themselves, and so as to acquire it they sent to the capital and seat of the Sultan their representatives, whom they improperly called as such and maintained were apparently to protect the *raya* from the abuses of the Turks, while in truth they were sent with the objective of removing their opponents from power and themselves seizing it. All the expenses incurred in the sending of such representatives and in their residence in Constantinople were paid for by the *raya* themselves, as the Turks and the so-called *kocabaşıs* wished. And the one or the other faction paid, and whichever afterwards appeared victorious, and secured its own *paşa*, they imposed all the expenses incurred on the *raya*. The defeated party subsequently used all means to overthrow its opponents, so as to regain power, and when they in turn succeeded in having their own *paşa*, they again imposed all the expenses incurred on the *raya*, so that the *raya* did not derive any comfort on account of the *kocabaşıs*, or from the so-called representatives (*vekils*). All the tumult and action took place for the benefit of the Turks and of their companions the *kocabaşıs*, who were obliged to apportion the [tax] burdens and other expenses and to collect them at the same time. These last acted as the servants of the appetites of the Turks, and this calling was the means of their exemption from burdens and taxation. They collected a hundred and gave only twenty five, cheating the Turks.

Such was the *kocabaşı*, who also in all else imitated the Turk, in clothing, in external manners and in his house. His ease was similar to that of the Turk, and only in name did he differ. Instead, for example, of calling him Hasan, they called him Giannis, and instead of going to the mosque he went to church. Only in this was there a distinction. And for all this the Turk cut off his head, at will, and for three days displayed his corpse in the marketplace, his head placed on his posterior for greater disrespect, while that of the Turk they put under his armpit. From all this it is clear whether the *kocabaşı* did, or did not, have the consent of the people.

Those sent to the seat [capital] of the Sultan as so-called plenipotentiaries, as we have said, worked for and prepared the sending of a new *paşa*. From there they guided the Turks of their cabal in the Peloponnese to be for, or against, the *paşa* according to circumstances. This continuous and ceaseless war took place, and tyranny was never wanting for the unfortunate *raya*. Certain people describe such conscienceless and dishonourable conduct as a political and even democratic system. But who asked the unfortunate *raya?* The Turk only said to them: 'You here! I want you to obey him, if not, I shall cut off your head'.

1:8 RURAL AUTONOMY AND RURAL LAWLESSNESS: THE MANI AT THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Nikitas Niphakis, *The History of all the Mani, its manners, villages and produce, in political verses* (1798). S. V. Kougeas (ed.), *Nikita Niphaki (1748-1818 peripou): Maniatika Istorika Stikhourgimata* (Athens, 1964) p. 35ff.

There is a large mountain in the Morea
In the region of Lakonia, like the Pieria [mountain],
The ancient Spartans called it Taygetus
The Maniots call it Makrynos and Ilias.
And there are yet more smaller mountains
From Cape Matapan until near here.
The wretched Spartans fled to these mountains
And they are those who today are called Maniots.
To protect life and freedom
They built towns and numerous villages in the mountains.
It was not natural for them to become slaves or serfs,
But to be free men, for they were not bastards,
But they were the unfortunate true children of Sparta
Free and well educated offspring.
For this reason they built towns and villages in the mountains
And live until today in freedom.
I seek to write their history
And [describe] their manners, produce and villages.
One hundred and seventeen are all the villages
Where they keep their weapons and their freedom.
And it would be difficult for me all at once
To describe them, if I do not divide them.
And for this reason, then, it is necessary the Mani
To divide into three parts only.
The eastern part is called Lower Mani,
The other two, the western, Outer and Inner Mani.
Now, therefore, let us write about every one
Produce, villagers, manners and all that one by one.
[. . .]
Outer Mani is divided into four districts,
It has five bishoprics and seven captaincies
Zarnata and Androuvista and one in Milea
And Maltzina, that of Zygos, there is no other more.
In Zarnata two captaincies are to be found
Or rather I should say tyrannies.
The one in Trikotsova of *Kapetanios* Georgaki
And the other, that of Kyr Koumountourakis, is in Kitries.

That of *Kapetanios* Troupakis in Androuvista
And the other, that of *Kapetanios* Khristakis in Zygos
And in Milea there are only three *kapetanioi*
And two others are to be found in Lower Mani.
Kyvelos is in Milia, Dourakis in Kastania,
Venetsakis is based in Little Kastania.
And these all recognise as their greatest
First and best of leaders
Tzanet Bey the hero, the admirable man,
The firm support of his motherland, and father of orphans.
Throughout all Mani and in Lakonia
He should be the first leader, he should have the governorship.
For he is hospitable, a great patriot,
In Mani he does things that no other person has done.
A bell in his castle sounds the evening repast,
I saw it with my own eyes, this is not a lie.
And all those who hear it boldly enter
And eat at his table and depart sated.
He loves the poor and strangers, he defends his area
He hunts down wrongdoers, and grinds them like salt.
And for this reason old and young obey
Him, all the Mani and the *kapetanioi,*
With the one exception of Kyr Koumountourakis
Who loves in his own district to be like a hawk
To tyrannise over the poor and to seize their property,
To feast with his lady, while his district groans.
He wanted to subordinate the rest of Mani,
To seize its oil, and to plunder its silk,
He wanted even to take Marathonisi.
With Turkey, he sought to frighten the Mani
And to bring it under his control.
He brought an army by land, and a fleet by the shore
And from Androuvista he began in turn.
But, however, brave youths answered him,
And fearsome *kapetanioi* went before him.
At Skardamoula they came upon him, there they answered him
And like lions sprang upon him.
One drove a hundred before him, a hundred drove a thousand
They scattered them to the winds, rendered them miserable.
The terrified [Koumountourakis] fled with his land army
He abandoned the wretched *serasker* on the beach.
And his legs were trembling to get on board a boat
And he filled his breeches with fear.

At that moment if Tzanet Bey had wished
To move a little and not neglect,
Koumountouros at Kitries or Zarnata
Could not have stopped, nor at Kalamata.
[. . .]
But he took pity and said, what does it matter to us,
Leave him in his district to do what he wants.
[. . .]
But I wish the one had not quarrelled with the other
And the young knew how to honour the old
So that murders did not take place, nor piracy and theft
So that houses and churches were not damaged
But for their homeland and for freedom
Immediately they think as one and run like beasts
Ah! Ah! my Maniot brothers, should do one thing
And I became a Maniot, I gave you a letter.
Set up in your district a school or two,
This can be done without difficulty.
That your priests may learn and be instructed
To teach and guide the people,
To learn your commands, to rule the others
And the young to obey their elders and betters
And then may you see with such ease
The profit and benefit the schools give you
So that your district may be honoured, your towns be peaceful
So that your villages be pacified and evil at an end;
That you also may yourself be heard, and everywhere be honoured;
[. . .]
And I am very bitter and flee upset
From your homeland I leave embittered

* * *

With deep sorrow in the soul and trepidation
I go to Theouria and to Kakkavoulia
To describe their home-land, so as not to waste time,
Villages, towns, customs products to account.
To begin straight away, without delay,
Twenty six are they, towns and villages.
The first is Tzimova, a good town and big,
It has one Mavromikhalis as *kapetanios*
And above it, near to the foot of the mountain
Is to be found another village, which is called Kouskouni.
Krilianika, Skyphianika, Pyrgos, Kharia, Dryali,
Paliokhora and Kremos and Babaka or another,

And another they call Briki, Kaphiona and Karina,
Kouloumi they call another, and yet another Mina.
The many towered Kitta and Nomia likewise
Stavri and Kekhrianika and Kounos another one
Upper and Lower Bouliarios, Dry and Kipoula,
Vatheia with Alika, those are all.
And they are known as Inner Mani, and they are in order.
Quails and Frankish figs are their first produce.
Of tree or wood or branch there is not so much as one
There is no shade in which poor mortals may stand
There is no spring anywhere in the Inner Mani
The only fruit is the bean and lean barley
This the women sow, the women reap.
The women gather into sheaves and gather it in to the threshing floor
Women with their bare feet thresh it.
Women with their bare hands winnow it.
Women lug it with their bare backs,
They gather up the golden dust, so as not to lose it.
From the great burning heat, the roasting of the sun
Their tongue comes out like that of the dog scorched [by the heat of the sun]
Their hands and feet are dried out
Encrusted like that of a turtle.
At night they work the handmill, they turn, they weep
The grind their beans and sing lamentations.
And in the morning half clothed [women] go forth with their baskets
They run to the hollows, they go for the dung.
There, where their animals go to drink water
[. . .]
All the men travel in search of piracy and robbery
And all fight with each other and engage in treachery
Another roams to find what to steal,
Another lies in wait to murder him.
Another holds his tower so as another may not take him
And one hunts another, and another yet someone else.
And neighbour on neighbour, *koumbaros* on *koumbaros*
And brother looks on brother like Charon
[. . .]
When strangers chance to go to their region
They make of them *koumbaroi* and invite them to eat
And when the foreigner wishes to depart, they hold him
And like friends they speak to him, and give him advice.
'*Koumbaros*' they say, 'we wish you well
And that which we say to you, mark well.

And take off your gown, your waistcoat and your belt
And your trousers lest some enemy take them from you:
Lest enemies strip you, and others take them
This brings damage to us and great shame.
For this reason, dear *koumbaros* truly we say to you
We would like you to leave your fez and shirt
And take off your shoes, what use are they to you?
And now you are safe, you are not frightened of anyone.'
And thus they strip the wretched stranger
The cruel ones run to leave him naked.
And if, by chance, some time a ship
For its sins falls to their place,
French, Spanish, English or another
Or Turkish, Muscovite, small or big,
Each one wants to take his share, my son,
And the planks they share, it does not worry them at all.
They are not ashamed, they do not fear God
They do not pity the poor, they are not sorry for strangers.
They have much fierceness and wild aspect
They have no human semblance
[. . .]
Nor greeting should one give them
But should flee from them as from a snake
[. . .]
But when some outsider wants
To come to their homeland to fight them
Then they immediately agree among themselves and run like wild beasts
To demonstrate their bravery and their freedom.

2 The Emergence of a Commercial Bourgeoisie

2:1 IOANNINA: A CENTRE OF GREEK COMMERCE IN EPIRUS

Henry Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, &c. during the years 1812 and 1813* (London, 1815) pp. 148–51.

Ioannina, though an inland city, and surrounded by mountains, has long had much commercial importance; and the traveller will be surprised to find here, merchants who have large connections, not only with the different parts of Turkey, but also with Germany, Italy, and Russia. The direct traffic, indeed, through Ioannina is small, compared with that in which the Greeks of the place are engaged, through their connections in foreign countries. The general origin and nature of these connections may be explained in a few words. The active spirit of the Greeks, deprived in great measure of political or national objects, has taken a general direction towards commerce. But, fettered in this respect also, by their condition on the continent of Greece, they emigrate in considerable numbers to the adjacent countries, where their activities can have more scope in the nature of the government. Some branches of the migrating families, however, are always left in Turkey, either from necessity, from the possession of property in the country; or from the convenience to both parties in a commercial point of view. Thus by far the greater part of the exterior trade of Turkey, in the exchange of commodities, is carried on by Greek houses, which have residents at home, and branches in various cities of Europe, mutually aiding each other; and by means of the latter, extending their concerns much more variously than could be done in Turkey alone.

This description is entirely applicable to the commerce of Ioannina. Many of the merchants here have extensive continental connections, which are often family ones likewise. An instance at this time occurs to me of a Greek family, with which I was intimate where, of four brothers, one was settled at Ioannina, another at Moscow, a third at Constantinople, and the fourth in some part of Germany; all connected together in their concerns. Many other examples of the same kind incidentally came to my knowledge. A circumstance tending to maintain this foreign relation, besides the interests which are often answered by it, is the system of Ali

Pasha, never to allow a family to quit his territory, unless leaving behind some principal members of it, and their property also, to be responsible for their final return. This method of preventing emigration has the effect of retaining in Ioannina branches of all the ancient families of the place, and thereby of keeping up commercial connections, which otherwise might be transferred elsewhere.

Most of the merchants here are men who have travelled much in Europe, are well instructed in European habits, and speak several of the continental languages. Their principal connections are with Germany and Russia, an intercourse which has been maintained for a long period. The port of Trieste has generally been a great channel of Greek trade, and many Greek houses are established there, with relation to other houses in Vienna, Leipsic, and various places in the interior of Germany. The connection with Russia depends partly upon the relative situation of Greece; in some degree perhaps on the similarity of religion, and the political relation which Russia has had at times with this people. The principal branches of several Ioannina houses resided at Moscow previously to the destruction of that capital, and probably have since resumed their situation. A large amount of Greek property was lodged in the bank there, including the funds of several public institutions, schools, &c. We were in Ioannina at the time of the news of the burning of Moscow arrived; and living chiefly among merchants, could judge of the great sensation this event excited among them. The losses sustained by some individuals in the destruction of their magazines were very great. [. . .]

A considerable part of the cottons and cotton yarns of Thessaly, as well as the coarse woollen manufactures of the country, have generally been transmitted through Ioannina for exportation to Italy and Germany. Of late years, owing to the impediments to trade on this side, a large proportion of these cottons had been forwarded by overland carriage, from Salonica and other places.

Albania, and the neighbouring districts, are in great measure supplied with articles of commercial demand through the merchants of Ioannina; this city therefore forming a depôt of much importance in the country. The commerce, adapted to the wants of the population, is of course of a very miscellaneous kind. Each merchant pursues his trade in a variety of articles, which he obtains through his connections in Germany and Italy; or latterly, to a greater extent perhaps from the island of Malta. [. . .] There is a sort of fair held in the neighbourhood of the city every autumn, which collects many people from the different districts of the country; and here the various imported goods, which pass through the merchants of Ioannina, are disposed of in retail to a large amount.

The general export trade of Albania, consisting of grain, timber, tobacco, wool, oil, &c., is conducted in part by the Ioannina merchants, in

connection with their import trade. Of grain the Vizier himself is the great monopolist for exportation. The plains, adjoining the city, are rich in their produce of wheat and maize, which are sent down to be shipped at Salaora. The tobacco grown in this and other districts further to the north, is chiefly collected at Ioannina for export, and both in quantity and quality forms a commercial article of some value.

The Greeks of Ioannina are celebrated among their countrymen for their literary habits, and unquestionably merit the repute they have obtained from this source. The literature of the place is intimately connected with, and depending upon its commercial character. The wealth acquired by many of the inhabitants gives them the means of adopting such pursuits themselves, or encouraging them in others. The connections in Germany and Italy, and frequently residence in these countries, tend further to create habits of this kind, and at the same time furnish those materials for literary progress, which would be wanting in their own country. At the present time, nearly two-thirds of the modern Greek publications are translations of European works; and whatever may be said of the powers of undirected genius, it is certainly better that for some time it should continue to be so. Such translations are often both suggested and executed abroad, and the presses at Venice, Vienna, Leipsic, Moscow, and Paris, are all made subservient to the active industry of these people in forwarding the literature of their country. The extensive traffic of the Greeks of Ioannina is further a means of rendering this city a sort of mart for books, which are brought hither from the continent when printed; and from this point diffused over other parts of Greece. At the *dogana* of Arta, I have seen numerous packages of books on their way to Ioannina, and in the city itself there are several shops, which have long been known for their extensive dealings in this branch of business.

2:2 THE GREEK MERCHANT MARINE: THE 'NAUTICAL ISLAND' OF YDRA

Henry Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, &c. during the years 1812 and 1813* (London, 1815) pp. 424–5.

[...] Near the mouth of the gulph of Argolis, is seen the small isle of Hydra, a spot which, of late, has become very interesting from the extent and importance of its commerce. But a few miles in circumference, with a surface so rocky as scarcely to yield the common vegetables, and even without any other water than that collected in cisterns; this little spot has an active and wealthy population of more than 25,000 souls, and a property in shipping, amounting, it is said, to about 300 trading vessels, many of them of large tonnage, and well armed. I have heard, and have

some reason to believe the statement, that there is a merchant in Hydra, whose acquired property amounts to about a million of dollars, and many others, with a trading capital, which bears proportion to this sum. The nature of this commerce presents many peculiarities, some of which I have stated below. It is perhaps most interesting as it shews the ability and disposition of the Greeks to become an active and enterprizing people, wherever the obstacles to their progress are removed; attesting the part they would bear in Europe should a favourable change take place in the political situation of Turkey.

Hydra is the most remarkable of three or four isles in the Archipelago, which have risen into extensive commercial importance. It is worthy of notice that all these isles are small, and for the most part of barren surface; had they been larger or more fertile, the population would probably have been occupied in the growth, or trifling export of their produce, without entering into the general carrying trade, which is now their great source of wealth. The situation of Hydra has further led to this superior extent of its commerce. Closely adjoining to a fertile province, which abounds in grain and other articles of export, but is subject in general to an ignorant and tyrannical local government; it has been itself exempt from political oppression, by coming under the more feeble and dispersed authority of the Capitan Pasha [*Kaptan Paşa*]. Its barrenness, too, might afford protection to the growth of its commerce, which now protects itself, by enabling the inhabitants to purchase an easy exemption from a power almost too weak upon the seas to oppress them. A small tribute of money, and of sailors for the Turkish navy, secures the Hydriotes from any serious interruption to their traffic, in as far as the Turkish government is concerned.

Their trade consists principally in the transport of the produce of this part of Turkey to other quarters of the Mediterranean, and in bringing back to the Levant return cargoes of colonial and manufactured articles. The chief export, especially lately, has been grain; the scarcity of which, for two or three years in the west of Europe, has given an extraordinary stimulus to this traffic. The Hydriot ships, many of them of three, four, or five hundred tons, purchased their cargoes of corn in Greece, Egypt, or Asia Minor; much of it from the Morea, Thessaly, or Macedonia; and carrying it down the Mediterranean, obtained a ready sale, occasionally at a profit of 40 or 50 per cent. upon the cargo. The details of this trade are curious. The capitalists of Hydra, most of whom have originally been the captains of ships, reside in the isle, and lend out their money to commercial adventurers, on the verbal faith (for writings are seldom employed) of receiving a certain interest, 10, 15, or even 20 per cent. upon the proceeds of the voyage. The captains of the ships, who are generally principal owners, are, for the most part, responsible agents in these

transactions. It is the system of the Hydriotes, however, that every person on board their ships, even to the cabin boy, has a share in the speculation, either in lieu of wages, for which the proportion is duly regulated, or by the investment of the savings which any one may have made. Every Hydriote sailor is therefore more or less of a merchant, and is furnished with the strongest motive to habitual industry, in the opportunity of thereby advancing his fortune in life. The ships of the island have usually very numerous crews, who are reckoned among the most skilful sailors of the Mediterranean. They all retain a strong attachment to their native place, and seldom fail to marry and establish themselves here, when they have acquired any property by their adventures. The city of Hydra is built rather in the Italian than Turkish manner, and contains many excellent houses, furnished even in a style of luxury and sumptuousness.

2:3 PRIMITIVE INDUSTRY: THE SPUN RED COTTON OF AMBELAKIA, THESSALY

Felix Beaujour, *A View of the Commerce of Greece, formed after an annual average from 1787 to 1797* (London, 1800) pp. 180–196.

Larissa, 5 Thermidor, Year 5. (24 July 1797)

Manufactured Articles

The manufactured articles which enter into the view of Greek exports are, red-cotton thread, Morocco leather, carpets, silk vests, and some coarse cloths known under the name of *capots* and abats.

The Red-Cotton Threads of Greece

The fine red dye that is given to cotton in the Othoman Empire is known in Europe under the name of *rouge du Levant* and *rouge d'Adrianople. [. . .]*

The principal manufactories of red spun cotton, established in Greece, are in Thessaly, at Baba, Rapsani, Tournavos, Larissa, Pharsalia, and in all the villages situated on the declivity of Ossa and Pelion. [. . .] Among these valleys that of Tempe has been always distinguished, on account of the beauty of its shades and its waters, which, by reason of their limpidity, are well calculated for the purposes of dying [*sic*], and which supply an infinite number of manufactories, the chief of which are those of *Ambelakia.*

Ambelakia, by the activity of its inhabitants, resembles rather a city of Holland than a Turkish village. That village diffuses, by its industry, motion and life through all the country around it, and gives birth to an

immense commerce that connects Germany to Greece by a thousand threads. Its population, which has been tripled within these last thirty years, amounts to four thousand souls; and all this population lives in the dying-houses as a swarm of bees live in a hive. The inhabitants of this village are strangers to the vices and cares arising from idleness. The hearts of the Ambelakians are pure, and their countenances content. The slavery, that disgraces at their feet the plains watered by the Peneus, has not ascended their hills. No Turk can either dwell or sojourn among them, and they are governed, as their ancestors were, by their protoyeros and by their own magistrates. Twice have the ferocious mussulmen of Larissa, jealous of their freedom and happiness, attempted to scale their mountains and to plunder their houses; and twice were they repelled by hands which suddenly quitted the shuttle to arm themselves with a musquet.

All arms, even those of children, are employed in the dyes of Ambelakia, and, while the men are dying the cotton, the women are spinning and preparing it. The use of spinning wheels is unknown in this district of Greece. All the spinning is performed by the spindle. The thread is, certainly, less strong, less round, and less equal; but it is more soft, more silky, and more tenacious. It breaks less, and lasts longer; it bleaches better, and is better calculated for dying. It is a pleasure to see the women of Ambelakia armed each with a spindle, and chattering together before the doors of their houses. But they can only enjoy that pleasure for a moment; for, as soon as a stranger appears, they fly away [. . .]

There are at Ambelakia twenty-four manufactories; where are dyed every year two thousand bales of cotton, containing one hundred okes in each bale. These two thousand five hundred bales are exported wholly to Germany, and are distributed to Pest, Vienna, Leipsic, Dresden, Anspach, and Bayreuth. The merchants of Ambelakia have factories in all those cities, and they sell the cotton there to the German manufacturers. All these factories were, in the beginning, governed by societies, each of which had its peculiar interests, but, these societies injuring each other by their competition, a plan was formed of uniting them all, and forming only one. The plan of a great *commandite* (this word literally means an agreement between two partners, one of whom finds the money, and the other attends on the business) was formed twenty years ago, and was executed the following year. The regulations of the new company were compiled by wise men. Each proprietor, or principal, of a manufactory, was to contribute a sum proportionate to his means. The smallest quotas were fixed at five thousand piasters, and the largest were fixed at twenty thousand piasters, in order that the rich might have no opportunity of engrossing to themselves all the profits. The workmen were to unite the stock they had saved by their industry, and there were to form together common quotas, which were, in a manner, small *commandites,* incor-

porated in the great one. These workmen, exclusive of their money, were to give still farther their labour and their attention; and the salary of their labour, added to that of their capitals, very soon diffused ease through every house. The profits of the dividend were fixed at ten per cent per annum; and the surplus was set apart to enlarge the original capital, which, in the space of two years, arose from six hundred thousand piasters to one million.

At the head of the company were placed three principal directors, who formed, at Ambelakia, a commercial firm, under an ideal name, of which they alone reserved the signature; but they committed that same signature to three other of their associates at Vienna, which was the seat of their returns, as Ambelakia was that of their exports. The two firms of Ambelakia and of Vienna had inferior correspondents at Pest, Trieste, and Leipsic, in Germany, and at Salonichi, Constantinople, and Smyrna, in Turkey. These correspondents were charged with the receipt of the exports, with making the returns, frequenting the markets, and thus with opening, to the cotton thread of Greece, a ready sale into all Germany. They were also charged with the circulation of the funds arising from the sales, and with remitting them from hand to hand, from place to place, according as opportunities served and exigencies required. Thus, the company could not participate with any person in the profits of the bank; and, when the exchange was against it, it made use of its funds at Salonichi, or at Smyrna, in the purchase of raw materials. Never was any society established on more economical principles, and never were fewer hands employed to direct affairs of so great an extent. All was regulated, all was calculated, with a wisdom, which has had no model, except in the inhabitants of Paraguay, and no imitators, except the mercantile societies of *Moravian Brethren.*

In order to concentrate at Ambelakia all the profits, one of the statutes prescribed, that no correspondents should be chosen, but out of the Ambelakians; and, in order to divide the profits the better among them, the purport of another statute was, that the correspondents should revolve upon themselves, by relieving each other every three years; and that, at the end of every third year, they should be obliged to re-enter the country, in order to work a year there at least with the *matadors,* and there to be initiated in the mercantile principles of the company.

The commerce of Ambelakia, thus organized, made every where the most rapid progress, and enlivened every place through which it passed. I observed its course with concern, and, thinking that this commerce might give new life to our [French] factories at Salonichi, I endeavoured, by insinuations and promises, to direct a branch of it to Marseilles. But my endeavours proved abortive: whether it was that the Greeks were afraid lest they should find powerful rivals in the French, or whether it was that

they had rather treat with the good-nature of the Germans than with the penetration of the Marseillois.

The most happy harmony reigned for a long time in the *commandite.* All the members contributed eagerly to its success. The directors were disinterested, the correspondents zealous, the workmen docile and laborious. The work being equally divided among all the work-shops, was performed with care and celerity: all the manufactories prospered. The company, which enlarged its profits every day, possessed an immense capital. Its exports increased rapidly, and yielded a profit of from sixty to eighty, and even a hundred per cent. All its funds were increased ten-fold. But this immense influx of wealth, which seemed as though it would consolidate the *commandite,* threw all there into disorder and confusion. The directors, become opulent, made pressing demands; the poor, being enriched in their turn, refused to obey; the workmen quitted the shuttle to take the pen, instead of dying and spinning: every one wished to command. The meetings became tumultuous; the workmen, who were the most numerous, ruled there; and since that time, it has been impossible to procure any wise counsels to prevail; opinions turn into every direction, and cannot be conciliated. The society was thus rent by dissensions during twenty months, and it at length broke about two years since, in order to be divided into as many small *commandites* as there were societies of workmen. The jealousy, the spirit of envy, the desire of injuring each other, all those petty shuffling passions, which enter into the composition of the Greek character, are already undermining, by their consequences, the *new societies;* and, it may be presumed, that they will only exist for a day.

It was the pride of those who were newly enriched, together with the pretensions of the principals, that caused the ruin of the old *commandite.* But what hastened its dissolution was a proceeding, in which all the members participated. Among the number of articles, there was one which prohibited the members of the society from selling to their parents; which was the way to prevent fraudulent sales. Notwithstanding this, there was a member, at Vienna, who sold cotton, to the amount of twenty thousand piasters, to a merchant, who became, some time afterwards, his son-in-law. This merchant being afterwards brought, by the nature of his commerce, to Ambelakia, his father-in-law made him a new sale. The buyer failed the next year, when the company prosecuted the father-in-law. He defended himself, alleging, that the buyer, at the time of the first sale, was not his son-in-law: at length he consented to pay the principal, but he refused to pay the interest which had accrued in the mean time, and which had enlarged the capital to an enormous amount. The cause was split and complicated. Sent from tribunal to tribunal, it was at length brought to mine, when I had the weakness, seduced by my sincerity, to decide, without requiring a bond to stand to my award: it could not be provided

for otherwise. From the [French] consulate of Salonichi, the affair passed through various legations at Constantinople; from Constantinople it was carried to Vienna, where it was finally decided, after having occasioned enormous expenses to the company.

The members that composed the company are now occupied in the payment of those expenses, which will be long and precarious. I am inviting the members to give over with a good grace, and not to consume, in vain disputes, the precious fruits of their industry. [. . .]

For my part, I shall never forget what I have seen at Ambelakia and its vicinity: a numerous population, subsisting wholly by the produce of its manufactures, and presenting to me, amidst the rocks of Ossa, the affecting union of a society of brothers and friends [. . .]

It is from Greece that we have borrowed the art of dying cotton red. Some Greek dyers came to settle, towards the middle of this century, at Montpellier, and dyed cotton there, after the manner of their country. Their processes were soon copied by the French dyers; and it is thus that the dying of the Levant has been communicated to our manufactories of Languedoc and Béarn, and to those of Rouen, Mayenne, and Chollet.

2:4 THE RULE-BOOK OF THE GUILD OF GROCERS OF MOSKHOPOLIS (VOSKOPOLJE), 1779

Nikos Veis, *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jarbücher,* VIII (1929/30) 526–8. 2 January 1779

Because the whole system of the universe is characterised by order and symmetry, and it never falls into perplexity, on account of being decently governed by the heavenly and the earthly King: for this reason we, too, of the guild of grocers, seeing many unseemly things which happen in our guild with the absence of order and harmony in the capital of all, the shame towards each other, now that we have, thanks to the propitiousness of the Highest, extreme freedom and great quietness, we have enacted certain conditions which are to be guarded unyieldingly and with these justice is to reign and truth is to shine. *First,* therefore, we make as a foundation love towards one another so as to rout with this all our adversaries. *Second,* the *protomastores* are to be particularly respected, since these undertake the care of the lesser [traders]. If, however, somebody appears who is disobedient to the command of the *protomastores,* on account of his wrong doing he is to be outside the guild as disastrous and harmful. *Third,* when little merchandise comes our way and there is worry amongst us, then to this office, so as not to damage anyone,

we appoint Kostis Bosta, Efthymios Tzoumetikos, Athanasios Bosios, Dina Kantza, Nastos Rabogiannis and Dina Goga first to do the trade themselves and then to share, in a brotherly fashion, to each one the merchandise that has chanced our way. If, however, anyone else wishes to do business, he, as a child of darkness, is to be excommunicated and for ever expelled from the guild. But when commodities are in abundance then everyone has leave to do business as he can, but he should not dare to proceed outside the village to wait for business, but he should wait until the merchandise is unloaded at the square and then, unhindered, he can buy. *Fourth.* The workshops of the guildsmen, that is to say of our compatriots, are to trade before the guild so that no part will be wronged, and if the hired help shows himself disobedient to the master of the workshop, or wants to do any disobedience, he bears the responsibility. *Fifth.* When somebody has need of an assistant first present him before the guild and afterwards introduce him to the workshop, and if he secretly makes any agreement, then the service of the assistant is to be forfeited. Further, small boys must serve for three years, older boys for only two and the first payment is to be ten *grosia,* afterward as much as they can, but it is essential that they must be apprenticed for five years. *Sixth.* Whoever gives short measure he should himself pay to the *kadı* of Korytsa the yearly *nark* and here the fine to the *zabit. Seventh.* If by chance a brother is wronged, or insulted, or dishonoured, he is not to go elsewhere for judgement, but only to appear before the guild and then the fitting punishment is carried out. *Eighth.* If anyone is found who insults his betters or dishonours honourable men when they pass by for the market, be he subjected to *falanga* in the market, and thus to be made wise. *Ninth.* When the *protomastores* summon their lessers for any business, they are to leave every work and to follow them, similarly when any brother dies, we must all attend his burial. *Tenth.* If anyone be found who does business with a Turk either for salted fish, or for beans, or for whatever else, he should be without the guild. *Eleventh.* On Sundays the workshops are shut, but he has leave, however, to stand outside his door and if anyone asks for some commodity, let him give it to him. Likewise he who has a workshop has not the right to put his things in a foreign place. And let no one dare go outside the village when the *subaşıs* bring the cheese and butter, so as to take it, but let him go to their house and there to make trade.

These are the regulations of the guild and may they stand eternally. Whoever, however, may seek to spoil them, may he have as his adversary the Holy Trinity and give account to the Incorruptible Judge of the Day of Judgement.

Witness Kostiyanko Goga
Konstantinos Mikhail Papathanasis.

2:5 THE GREEK MERCANTILE *DIASPORA*: THE GREEK COMMUNITY OF BENGAL

Anon., *Historical and Ecclesiastical Sketches of Bengal* . . . (Calcutta, 1827) pp. 221–4.

Under the Mogul Government the Armenians had access to public offices, as many of them were very opulent merchants, highly respected by the Omrans, among whom they had such considerable influence, that the Greeks were induced to solicit their patronage, under which they were first introduced into Calcutta, and both people, until very lately, went under the general appellation of Urmannee. The Greeks, for their patronage, paid to the Armenian Church one Arcot Rupee for every bale of merchandise they received from Dacca, Sylhet, Bandana, Assam, Patna, and Moorshudabad, whether it was sold in Calcutta, or exported for the Turkish market. The Greeks continued to pay this tribute until the establishment of their own Church in 1781, and then, as I learn from a MS. by Mr. [Warren] Hastings, their community was first known in Great Britain.

Commerce allured the Greeks, as well as the Armenians, to an association with the English in India.

The first eminent Grecian who settled in Calcutta was Hadjee Alexios Argyree (he made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and the Greeks who do so acquire the appellation of Hadjee, as well as the Mahomedans, who go to Mecca [. . .]), a native of Phillipopolis: he came to Bengal in 1750.

Mr. Philip Da Cruz, a very old and respectable Portuguese Merchant of Calcutta, has stated to me, that he accompanied Alexios Argyree in a voyage from Calcutta for Mocha and Judda at the close of the year 1770 in the ship *Alexander.* Argyree went as interpreter in the Arabic language to Thornhill, who commanded the vessel. On the 29th of Dec. they met with a severe gale in which the vessel was dismasted; at the moment of extreme danger, when all expected the vessel must have foundered, Argyree made a solemn vow to heaven, that if they survived the threatening perils he would have found a Church in Calcutta for the Grecian congregation. When the gale abated they put in and refitted at Madras, and in February 1771 proceeded to Mocha, where they took in a cargo of coffee for Pondicherry: as the season was too far advanced for the vessel to proceed to Judda, Captain Thornhill dispatched Argyree overland to Cairo to procure a Phirmaund [ferman] from the Beys for liberty for the English to trade to Suez: Argyree returned successful, and at the commencement of the Government of Mr. Hastings, received a favourable answer to a petition he presented for permission to establish a Greek Church in Calcutta.

The Greek Church in Calcutta consequently dates its existence from the

year 1772, but divine service had been occasionally performed there by the few Greeks in the Settlement since the year 1769.

Such additional information as I have respecting the Greek Church in Calcutta I owe to the Rev. Constantio Parthenio, a gentleman, polite and communicative; and one who is unquestionably the most enlightened person under the English Government of all the descendants of Hellas.

By the sanction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Argyree brought a Minister from Alexandria, and under the auspices of a munificent Hastings, purchased, with the assistance of the Greeks a small house in the alley contiguous to, and in the rear of, the steeple of the present Portuguese Church of the Virgin Mary of Rosary, where divine service was performed for the spiritual benefit of the Greeks in Calcutta. Death put a period to the further pious intentions of Argyree. He died at Dacca on the 25th of August 1777.

The foundation of the present Greek Church was laid in June 1780, three years after the death of Argyree. It was consecrated on the 6th of August 1781, and dedicated to *The Transfiguration of our Blessed Redeemer on Mount Thabor.*

The estate of the late Argyree, and his surviving family contributed to the purchase of the ground and the erection of the building, which cost, together, about thirty thousand rupees, but the principal part of this sum arose from voluntary contributions on the solicitation of Mr. Parthenio, a native of Corfu, who settled in Bengal in 1775. This gentleman attracted the notice of Mr. Hastings, who, with that liberality and condescension for which he was ever distinguished, placed his name at the head of the Subscription for two thousand rupees, and thus set an example to the English to encourage the pious intentions of the Greeks. The English Gentlemen contributed largely, and the few poor Greeks trading to Bengal added each their mite to the aggregate. The Greek Church is in fact a Sacellum.

In the Church is a Sanctorum: the Thuribula and Chandeliers are of silver, and made after the Jewish fashion.

The Greek Society at Calcutta is called among the brethren 'The Orthodox Brotherhood of the Greeks in Calcutta'.

There was a fraternal agreement passed among the Greeks of Calcutta for the purpose of directing the temporal affairs of their Church, by which they have resolved, that it is the property of themselves and their successors so long as any of the same nation and religion remain in Calcutta. The Greeks declare the King of England the Protector of their Temple, and daily implore the Almighty for his prosperity at the foot of their altar.

The Revenues of the Greek Church at present scarcely amount to eighteen hundred rupees per annum; one part of which rises from a

taxation on about forty Native Greeks, who contribute according to their circumstances, but they are almost all poor, as the branches of trade they are engaged in, is of little importance: the other part arises from the rent of four houses; one of which had been appropriated for the celebration of divine service in the days of Argyree, before the foundation of the Temple of the Transfiguration; the other three were the bequest of pious Greeks on their demise.

Their Ministers are sent to India by the permission of the Patriarch of Constantinople, from whatever part of Greece the congregation are desirous to have them.

The Greeks in Bengal would admit proselytes, were they not apprehensive of vagrant Indians throwing themselves on the Charity of their community, the aggregate fund of which is too small for the purpose of extensive benevolence, or even the administration of relief to any, but the indigent of their own circumscribed Society, and then the distribution is made with a frugal hand. They, however, admit proselytes in the following cases: if a Greek wishes to marry a native woman, she is first baptized, and their progeny educated conformable to the rites of the Greek Church: Several native orphans and forlorn youth of both sexes (*perhaps fifty*) serving in Grecian families have been baptized and educated at the expence of their masters: there are now several of this description in Bengal, who understand the ancient Greek, and read and write the modern language with facility. In the aisle of the Church of the Virgin Mary of Rosary are to be seen some tombstones which originally covered the remains of Turkish Greeks; few of the Greek Islanders came to Bengal, and at this very day the Turkish Greeks prevail in Calcutta: of the small number from the classic ground Demetrius Galanos from Athens must be particularized as a man whose accomplishments and skill as a Grammarian have rendered him highly respectable and the delight of the Grecians. This gentleman pursued his studies in the Sanscrit language at the Oxford of the East. Such are the particulars I have been able to collect concerning our new mercantile associates to which I will subjoin a mere notice of the Greeks at Dacca.

At Dacca there are a few peddling Greeks. The son of Argyree resides there, the survivor of misfortunes. Phangiothes Alexios, called by the English Mr. Paniotty, was born in Philippopolis and came to India in 1772, under the auspices of his father. His descent from Argyree, – his zeal, in the days of his prosperity, to forward the pious wishes of his father, and his having lost a most amiable wife in 1798, are all the circumstances that have come to my knowledge respecting him.

Mrs. Paniotty lies under monumental honours in the Greek Burial Ground on the road from Dacca to Tezgong; this ground the Greeks purchased in 1792, as they did not wish the remains of their brethren

should repose in the cemetery of the Portuguese Chapel at Tezgong. Coja Simon, a native of Caesaria, chiefly contributed towards the purchase of the Burial Ground. The Greeks first settled at Dacca in the year 1772.

2:6 GREEK COMMERCIAL COMPETITION: A COMPLAINT BY THE MERCHANTS OF THE LEVANT COMPANY IN SMYRNA (1804)

Public Record Office: State Papers 105/129

Francis Werry,
British Consul,
Smirna

Smirna 13th August 1804

Sir, On the 31st. January last, we had the honour to address their Worships, the Levant Comp(any) complaining of the Hardships we experienced from the Admission of Ottomans into our Trade, & praying for redress. [. . .]

It would be trespassing unnecessarily on your time, to dwell on the character & the nature of the mercantile Spirit of the Greeks; for this must be as familiar to you, as they can be to us. It were also needless to attempt, by argument, to shew that the introduction of them into our Trade is tantamount to the laying of it open & and that such an innovation must naturally in the course of time reduce our Trade to insignificancy, & endanger the existence of Factories in Turkey and consequently that, of the Levant Company. Whether such an order of things would be advantageous to our Country, in a political, as well as a Commercial point of view, we pretend not to determine.

It appears however to us, that, in a commercial one to transfer the Trade carried on by British Subjects, into the Hands of Greeks, cannot possibly be any benefit to the nation; for it must be acknowledged that the Levant Trade is a circumscribed one, already carried to its fullest extent, by the Members themselves & certainly not susceptible of any extension by Greeks.

Our Principals would not find the Greeks better able to serve them than we are, although they might offer their services on more moderate Terms. The Honour, Probity, Prudence, Conduct & Zeal of a British Merchant are well enough established in every Quarter of the Globe, & will most assuredly, not suffer by comparison with the Greeks, whose speculative Spirit, & Slavish subjection to an Arbitrary Government, must ever render him a dangerous Factor. [. . .]

If Englishmen are to enjoy no advantages over Ottomans, in trading with their own Country & if we are to meet with no support from their

Worships – rather than be made the Tools of Greeks to our own prejudice – we shall solicit to be freed from the restraints & shackles of the Company's Laws.

We have the Honour to be – with Respect Sir, Your most devoted Servants.

John & Will(ia)m Maltass, Lee & Sons, Morier & Wilkinson, Franel & Jackson, Peter Duveluz, George Perkins, J(oh)n Schoolbred, A. and E. Hayes & Co.

2:7 THE CONCERNS OF A GREEK MERCHANT: THE JOURNAL OF IOANNIS PRINGOS OF AMSTERDAM

N. P. Andriotis, 'To khroniko tou Amsterdam', *Nea Estia,* X (1931) 846ff.
Holland 12 June 1768

The Prince tours the country and they do many and great honours to him, and in Amsterdam there took place a great illumination all night long. The facade of the palace was decorated with many thousands of small lamps and the dome with 6000 lanterns. Around the marvellous clock and inside the great hall where the ball took place, there were 8000 small lamps and as many as 400 noblewomen, with countless diamonds which sparkled and they danced with the princess, etc.

And when an Orthodox Christian saw this array, while the Prince processed, greeting all those standing to the right and the Princess all those to the left, the Greek burst into tears. He [Pringos] writes thus: On account of whose sins, Lord, he said, and why should we be under the Turk, and why should we be enslaved, and not have as these [people] do sovereignty and freedom? By your mercy Lord, who has freed the people of Israel from the slavery of Pharaoh, liberate us the Orthodox Christians from the Turk . . . May God in his mercy free the race from the Hagarene, may God inspire in the heart of the Russian Empire, which is of the same religion, our liberation from the heavy and insupportable yoke, the unjust, the plunderer, the infidel Turk, for the increase and strengthening of Christianity. Yes, Our Lord God, have mercy. Until when will the crescent moon, which controls the city of Constantine, reign? From 1454 [*sic*] until now, 1768, is 314 years. My Lord, we have had enough of your fury, be forbearing, have our sins not yet sufficed for you to liberate us, O Lord? We have angered your benevolence and for this you have made us subject to such a wild beast, the impious Hagarene. O Lord, inspire the hearts of the Christian Kings to unite to wring the neck of this bloodthirsty wolf, this insatiable [? . . .] animal, whose life is like a pig, in eating and in voluptuousness, in injustice with his impositions, tax upon tax, and who diminishes us, destroys us. May God annihilate him, may this fury return there, whence he came. Raise up, My God, another Alexander,

who, as he drove the Persians out of Greece, may expel this tyrant so that Christianity will once again shine in the Greek lands, as of old. [. . .]

18 June 1771
[From] Smyrna. The plague rages and all the notables have moved to the country, until the fury has passed. All those who have the means have got out of the way. Karaosmanoglou, who governs Smyrna, is in tents, and in the Turkish and Jewish quarters it rages and but little in the quarter of the Greeks. And a command has been made that everyone must bury his own, and his neighbour to do this if he has no relatives. And few work-shops are open, many are closed and the men are fled. And, as if this fury of a deadly epidemic were not enough, they still say that the Russian fleet will come here to greet Smyrna. The best places have become places of fear: the people live in fear of the Turks, of the epidemic, of hunger, of war and also of fire. They sleep in their clothes, so as to be ready to flee if there is a fire. Anything of any value they keep in the *hans,* fearful of fire. See how many reasons for fear these have. [. . .[

22 July 1771.
Now should the prophecies of Leo the Wise be fulfilled, where he says 'Two eagles shall devour the snake'. These are the two insignia, or flags of the Russian Empire – the double-headed eagle, the insignia of the Roman [Byzantine], and the snake is the Turk, who has wrapped himself around a corpse, that is to say the Empire of the Romans [Byzantines]. Here Leo says, as they have interpreted, that the Turk shall remain for 320 years in the City [Constantinople]. And now it is 317 years from 1454 [sic] when they took the City until now, 1771. The Lord during these three years has made it possible for them [the Russians] to throw the Turk out of Greece and out of Europe.

News which we have from Greece and Constantinople says that the *paşas* of Damascus, Tripolis and Aleppo have united and fought with Ali Bey, ruler of Egypt, and that Ali Bey defeated them and took Damascus and a rebellion took place there and several thousand were killed in a bad way and Aleppo fears lest it will suffer the same [fate] and the Turk in the City [Constantinople], hearing these things, is thoughtful and fearful lest the time has come for the fulfilment of the prophecies of the *Seyids.* When they read these, tears run from their eyes like a river, where they write that the Turk will go to the Red Apple [Tree], that is to say, as far as the vault of heaven and then will be at peace. [. . .]

11 April 1773
These great corporations are a good thing. They are the government of the country, they work on their own account and behalf without having to go

abroad, to work [there] for others and they to be poor and to enrich others with their effort and [they are] a great government [for] all the poor of a country, [they provide] work and enable all of them to work. All these things cannot be supported under the Turk, nor can they come about, for he is without order and justice and if the capital (*sermaye*) is a thousand, he calls it ten times as much, so as to confiscate it, to impoverish the others, not appreciating that the enriching of his subjects is the wealth of his Empire. But these [the Dutch] maintain with justice and he [the Turk] is wholly unjust and cannot achieve anything but can only spoil. May the Almighty annihilate him, may Christianity prevail, so that governments similar to the above may come into being, as in Europe, where everyone has his own without fear of any injustice, where justice reigns, while with the Turk injustice and plunder, disaster and annihilation reign. So as to seize ten, it does not concern him if he destroys a hundred; so that he may seize the nail it does not matter if the horseshoe is lost. I do not believe that there is to be found another similar [person] in the world, who does not care at all for the improvement of his country. Rather than help his subjects to live, he prefers to destroy them, men as well as buildings. [. . .]

6 April 1774
O Almighty God, unite the Christian Kings to do this work, that the Christians be freed from the tyranny and rule of the Turks, that justice may reign, that no-one be wronged, but that each person may be assured of his life and of his own, and not, as up to now, where terror exists, where you fear your own shadow, and if, for all this, you succeed in acquiring a little something, false accusations are not wanting to make you lose it, to impoverish you, to destroy you, as the Turks do the Christians, where the false accusers with their injustices and seizures have impoverished them and laid them waste, when on account of the ruler being bad, the bad men find it easy to do evil deeds, wronging and seizing the property of others etc.

3 September 1774
[From] Büyükdere, Constantinople.
Here they now await the breeches of Mohammed which they had made into a pennant and had sent to the war and were cured. This helped them in a contrary way. Behold the ignorance to which superstition reduces the people when they do not read books to understand the truth from the lies! Behold in what error the Turks find themselves! Would that the Christians do not suffer from this evil of ignorance, on account of the indifference of the notables of each town and village and the heedlessness of the prelates of the dioceses . . . Perhaps in hoping for their freedom from Russia and

not from God, the Greeks do not receive it. Russia looks to her interest. She insisted on and succeeded in [obtaining] free travel to move Greeks to her lands, to inhabit her deserts [. . .] Russia should have held a free area of land in the Dodecannese as a refuge for the Greeks. But she cared little for them [. . .]

3 The Phanariots

3:1 A GREEK *NOBLESSE DE ROBE*: THE PHANARIOTS

William Eton, *A Survey of the Turkish Empire* . . . (London, 1799) pp. 351–4.

The most observable difference in the Grecian character is between those of Constantinople and their countrymen of the islands. The merchants and lower orders of the Constantinopolitan Greeks have indeed no very marked character; they are much the same as the trading Christians in all parts of the Empire, that is to say, as crafty and fraudulent as the Jews, but less so than the Armenians, who are the most subtle of all usurers.

But there is in a suburb called the Fenar a race of Greeks who call themselves nobles, and affect to despise those of the islands: they are certain opulent families, from which are generally appointed the drogomans of the Porte, and the waywodes of Walachia [*sic*] and Moldavia. They have kept these places among them, as they are mostly allied together, and keep up a constant connection with the officers of the Porte. They are continually intriguing to get those in office removed, and obtain their places; even children cabal against their fathers, and brothers against brothers. They are all people of very good education, and are polite, but haughty, vain, and ambitious to a most ridiculous degree, considering the contempt they are treated with by the Turks. As to their noble extraction, it is a matter of great uncertainty; most of them bear the names of those families which were illustrious when the Turks took Constantinople, but they would find it difficult to prove their descent. They have in general all the vices of the Turks of the seraglio; treachery, ingratitude, cruelty, and intrigue, which stops at no means. While they are drogomans of the Porte, they are obliged to behave with great caution and prudence, but when they become waywodes, they are in nothing different from Turkish pashas in tyranny; nor is it to be wondered at, when men are obliged to look up not only to tyrants, but to the very servants of tyrants, for honour and consequence; to flatter their ignorance and stupidity, their foibles and their vices, and to tremble for their lives at their frowns, that cunning takes the place of wisdom, vice of virtue, and treachery of fortitude. In such a situation the mind must lose its vigour, the heart its generosity: the abasement of man by such causes was never more strongly exemplified than in the instance of the Greeks of the Fenar; they do not weep over the

ruins which they cannot restore, nor glow with emulation to rear others of equal magnificence.

Strange as is the infatuation which induces these Greeks to aim at the post of waywodes, it is perhaps no less astonishing than many examples which daily occur in other nations of the power of ambition. Though styling themselves noble, and affecting a superiority over the other Greeks, they are the only part of their nation who have totally relinquished the ancient Grecian spirit; they seem not anxious, as the islanders are, for liberty, but delight in the false magnificence, and in the petty intrigues of the seraglio; and their pride is to appear in their dress like Turks; and yet the situation which they are thus eager to obtain is beset with perils, and scarcely one who holds it escapes deposition and punishment. No sooner is a waywode appointed, than he sets out in great state for his government, attended by a crowd of relations and dependants, for all of whom, as well as for his own splendor, he must provide by oppressing the unhappy subjects of his tyranny. Meanwhile his countrymen at Constantinople are engaged in continual plots for his removal, and it becomes necessary for him to accumulate a large sum to bribe the ministers and others on his return, and to avert the persecution, which continues for years afterward to hang over him.

3:2 PHANARIOT RULE IN THE DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES: AN ACCOUNT OF THE BRITISH CONSUL IN BUCHAREST (1820)

William Wilkinson, *An account of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia: with various political observations relating to them.* (London, 1820) pp. 46–59.

The princes of Wallachia and Moldavia, since the choice of them falls on the Greeks, receive their investiture at the Porte, with the pomp and ceremonies usually observed on creating *Pashahs* and *Veziers.* The *Kukka,* or military crest, is put on their heads by the *Muzhur Aga,* and the robe of honour is put on them by the Vezier himself. They are honoured with the standards and military music, and make their oaths of allegiance in the presence of the Sultan, to whom they are introduced with the ceremonies usual at a public audience. From the seraglio, they go in solemn and ostentatious procession to the patriarchal church, where prayers and ceremonies are performed similar to those which were formerly observed at the inauguration of the Greek Emperors. They are accompanied to their principalities by the Turkish officers appointed to install them. They make their public entry into the capital of their new sovereignty with a great display of magnificence, attended by the metropolitan and dignified ecclesiastics, the members of the divan, and the chief Boyars. They

assume, from the ceremonies which are practised, the title of 'God's Anointed.'

The general form of government in both principalities has undergone little alteration since the exclusion of the native Voivodes. The prince is invested with absolute authority, and, till lately, was only controllable in his financial operations, by the divan, representing the senate; still, in levying extraordinary contributions, and in fixing the mode of raising them, the signatures of a majority of members are required as a mere formality; and, although the want of these would render such acts illegal, they would not thereby be put with less vigour into execution.

The executive administration is divided into various regular departments. The divan, composed of twelve members, is the supreme council, and is presided by the Prince, who appoints to it new members every year, with the exception of the metropolitan, whose ecclesiastical dignity entitles him to a permanent seat. It is convened at least twice a week, to receive, examine, and decide upon appeals in judiciary matters.

A Voïvode of the name of Mathew Bessarabba, who governed Wallachia from 1633 to 1644, instituted laws which he drew from Justinian's code, and modified by the customs of the country. His example was soon after followed in Moldavia. Several princes made alterations in the original codes, and the late princes, Caradja of Wallachia, and Callimacki of Moldavia, have made them undergo a new revision, and have published them under their own names. It is in conformity to these laws that all suits are said to be judged, and the sentences framed; but the prince interprets them in his own way, and his will, in fact, is the only predominating law.

The princes' decisions are without appeal for the natives of the country; and, however irregular or unjust they may be, they cannot be revoked by their successors.

In any case of moment, where the opinion of the members of the divan happens to be unanimous against that of the prince, or contrary to his wishes, the decision of the question is postponed, and the members are privately desired to pronounce according to the views of the prince. As they are aware that non-compliance would be attended with dismissal and disgrace, it is common enough, on similar occasions, that at the next sessions they all declare an opinion directly opposite to the one they had last given.

At Bukorest, and at Yassi, where the princes reside, there are two particular tribunals appropriated to the revision of commercial and other differences existing between the natives and foreign subjects. They are called the Foreign Departments, and are each directed by a Boyar, who has the title of chancellor of foreign affairs, and two other judges. The business that comes before them is examined and discussed in the presence of an officer attached to the consulate, by which the foreign party

concerned is protected. The decisions are, conformably to the general sense of the treaties existing between the Porte and foreign powers, made according to the local laws; but they are not valid without the prince's confirmation, which can be withheld, and a timely appeal made either to the Grand Vezier's tribunal at Constantinople, or to the prince's own judgement, should the nature of the department's decision bear the appearance of partiality or injustice against the foreign party. Cases of this nature are so common, that the consuls are frequently obliged to act the part of attorneys in defending the rights of the individuals who are entitled to their protection.

There are also separate departments for the police, the treasury, and criminal cases, as well as a variety of petty offices for the different business, most of which report directly to the prince, and receive his instructions.

The following is an exact list of the chief dignitaries, and the other officers of state, according to their respective ranks and precedence, beginning with the twelve members of the divan.

The Metropolitan, or archbishop.

The Banno a title taken from the former Banns of Crayova.

Vornik de Tsara de Suss, or judge of the upper country.

Vornik de Tsara de Joss, or judge of the lower country.

Logothett, or chancellor and keeper of the great seal.

3rd Vornik, } Common judges at the
4th Vornik, } divan.

Logothett de Obichëy; his particular business consists in assembling the divan.

Vornik de Couttee, or treasurer for the pensions of the widows of poor Boyars.

Vornik de Polittia, or collector of the capitation tax within the city of Bukorest.

Clutshiar, or keeper of the code of laws.

Clutshiar d' Aria; although he has a seat, he is not allowed to vote. He is a kind of sergeant-at-arms.

According to old custom, an individual, who is not born or naturalised a Wallachian or Moldavian, cannot be admitted as a member of the divan.

The first Postelnik is principal minister and master of the ceremonies at court. His office is of the most confidential nature, and only given to Greeks, near relations, or intimate friends of the prince.

The Spathar; his office formerly corresponded to that of minister at war. At present he is director-general of the police throughout the principality. In Moldavia he is more properly called *Hetman.*

The Vestiar, or treasurer of the principality: he must be a native.

The Hetman; in Wallachia his business consists in carrying into

execution the prince's sentences in matters of judicature. He takes 10 *per cent.* on the value of the objects to which they relate.

Camarash, or first chamberlain; the prince's private treasurer, and judge over the Jews. He levies a duty upon all merchandise sold by retail for his own profit.

Armash, or judge of criminal causes relating to the lower orders; he has the superintendency of the public prisons, and collects the tribute paid by the gypsies to government.

Agga, or chief of the police within the city of Bukorest.

Portar-Bashi; he directs the correspondence with the neighbouring Turkish Pashahs, and other governors. He also attends upon all the Turks of distinction who visit Bukorest.

All the preceding offices give the rank of Boyars of the First Class to the persons who are appointed to them, and as such they wear their beard; they are all removed every year; but as they retain the titles until promotion, those in activity are distinguished from them by the additional one of *'great,' – 'maray,' – such as Logothett-maray,* the Great Chancellor, &c.

The Boyars of the Second Class are as follows:–

Caminar, or collector of duties upon wine, brandy, tobacco, and snuff, brought to Bukorest for sale.

Paharnik, or cup-bearer. At state dinners he stands behind the prince's chair, and offers him to drink.

Comisso, or master of the horse.

Stolnik, chief steward at court.

Sardar, chief or colonel of the guards.

Third Class:–

Medelnitsher; he receives the petitions addressed to the Hospodars, and reads all the papers at the divan.

Pittar, superintendent of the prince's equipages.

Sludgier; he was formerly commissary to the regiment of body-guards: it is now an empty title.

Shatrar, keeper of the prince's tents.

2d Logothett
2d Postelnik
2d Vestiar
3d Logothett
3d Postelnik
3d Vestiar

All these are public clerks attached to the offices from which they derive their titles.

The renewal of public officers every year naturally creates great confusion in the transaction of public business. The custom arises from the circumstances that the Boyars, whose number in Wallachia amounts to

nearly thirty thousand, claim public employment, at least, for a time, as a right to which they are each entitled. The first families, in particular, consider it as their birth-right; but as their chief object is gain, they scramble for places with the most indecorous avidity, and never regard their want of capacity for any branch of public service.

As every Boyar has some title or other, he is never addressed by his name in common intercourse, but by his title preceded by the ancient Greek one of [*arkhon*], as 'Archon-Banno, Archon-Shatrar,' &c.

A certain ceremony is practised at court upon all promotions and nominations. It takes place once or twice every month, when the prince, seated on an elevated throne, verbally notifies to the candidate, who is introduced by the First Postelnik, the rank or office to which he raises him. A robe of honour is then placed on his shoulders, and he advances in the most respectful attitude, and kisses the prince's hand. He is then conveyed home in one of the state-carriages, or on one of the prince's horses (according to his new rank) and accompanied by a great number of Chiohadars, or livery servants of the court, to whom he pays a considerable fee.

The Boyars of the First Class look upon their titles as corresponding to those of Count and Baron in Germany, and their rank to that of Major-general in Russia. It is true that the Empress Catherine, at the period of her first war with Turkey, issued an Ukase to that effect; but her successors have set it aside. Although most of the principal families indulge the idea that none in Europe can boast of more genuine nobility, there are very few who can trace their origin any farther than a century back. The present descendants of Bessarabba and Cantacuzene are amongst this number. A family in Wallachia bear the name of Paleologos, and confidently assert being descended from the race of the last Constantine. It would not be very material to attempt to refute such pretensions; few could be imposed upon by them. They appear, however, the more absurd, as the persons who make them cannot in any manner explain upon what grounds they are assumed.

Wallachia is divided into seventeen districts, including the Bannat of Crayova composed of five. They are called *Rimnik, Buzéo, Sakoyéni, Prahova, Yallomitza, Ilfov, Dimbovitza, Vlaska, Telly-Orman, Mousstzello, Argis, Olt, Romanatz, Vultza, Doltz, Gorge, Méhédintz.* Each of them is governed by two *Ispravniks* or deputies, whose appointment is renewed every year by the prince. Their business chiefly consists in collecting the tribute and other contributions, which they send to the *Vestiary,* from which they are in a great measure dependent. The *Ispravniks* of the Bannat are under the immediate orders of a lieutenant of the prince, who resides at Crayova, under the title of *Caïmacam.* The Greek princes have

substituted this appointment to that of the *Banns,* taking the title from that of the Turkish minister who fills the office of the Grand Vezier at Constantinople during the latter's absence.

The situation of *Caïmacam* at Crayova is very lucrative, and generally given to some of the Greeks who follow the princes into Wallachia with the hope of enriching themselves.

The Ispravnicates are also given to persons of that description, jointly with the sons of Boyars, who, at a very early age, commonly make their *début* in public career by those appointments. They receive a salary of five hundred piasters per month, besides which they have perquisites, which, in some of the richest districts, they extend as far as twenty thousand piasters a year.

3:3 PHANARIOT INTRIGUE IN CONSTANTINOPLE: THE *KAPIKÂHYASI*

Charles Swan; *Journal of a Voyage up the Mediterranean; principally among the islands of the Archipelago, and in Asia Minor to which is added an Essay on the Fanariotes, translated from the French of Mark Philip Zallony, a Greek* (London, 1826) II, p. 315ff.

Of the Bâche Capi Kiahaya [Baş kapıkâhyası] , or Representative of the Prince at Constantinople

It is a constant practice in the administration of the Ottoman empire, for every high functionary of the state, who resides out of Constantinople, to appoint a delegate near the Divan, who receives directly from the ministers of the Grand Seignor orders which concern his government; and who ought, in case of need, to answer the questions of the members of Divan, principally relating to the management of his principality. This delegate is called *Bâche Capi Kiahaya.*

For this reason, every new Hospodar, on quitting the walls of Constantinople to repair to his government, leaves, near the Sublime Porte, a Fanariote, invested with the title of *Bâche Capi Kiahaya.* He usually selects one of his nearest relations to fill this important post; or, in default of such, the person whom he supposes most devoted to him; and who, by his zeal, has acquired claims to his confidence.

I call this office important; and in truth, it could not be more so, since he who is invested with it holds, if I may say so, the destiny of his principal between his hands.

This representative has about him a number of persons who receive a pay from the Hospodar: he himself possesses very considerable emoluments.

It is from amongst these attendants, that the prince usually selects a

trusty person, who secretly watches over the conduct of the Bâche Capi Kiahaya; for, in this country, where intrigue and perfidy are the order of the day, there is no confidence which does not admit of some suspicion.

The representative of the Hospodar is almost always full of occupation, if he wishes to perform his duties; for he ought, on the one side, to execute the commands of his prince, and dispatch those which he receives from the Divan; to distribute with all possible circumspection the necessary feasts to the great men of the empire; to study the character of one, and the thoughts of another, wholly for the interests of his master. On the other side, he should have his eyes continually open to the intrigues which the ambitious Fanariotes, and particularly the fallen princes, direct against the Hospodar; if, however, the last have not suffered under the sabre of the *Capagi Bachi* [*kapıcı başı*]. The prince is no sooner invested in his new dignity, than a cloud of envious persons immediately menace his fortune. Like greedy kindred, the princes of the Fanar sigh for his overthrow; they seize, with eagerness, every false report which jealousy brings forth. The news of the day usually announces the approaching disgrace or premature death of one of the Hospodars. But, as I have observed, that which most occupies the Bâche Capi Kiahaya of the Hospodar, are the intrigues of the deposed princes, and those of a crowd of relatives, who, by their fall, are returned to the ordinary class of Fanar idlers. The latter, by facts collected in the principalities, are always in the current of anecdote which may injure the reigning prince, and which would injure him in truth, if the credit which he possesses with the Divan was not usefully defended, either by his policy, or by his patrons.

The faithful and adroit delegate, pretty commonly thwarts all the base practices of the enemies of his prince. His policy is active, and his means of seduction more than powerful; since [. . .] the Hospodar can make pecuniary sacrifices for the preservation of his post. These sacrifices sometimes amount to considerable sums. Indeed there is no other alternative; for he cannot turn aside a dangerous favoritism otherwise than by procuring the banishment of elevated personages; except he can corrupt the affection which they bear to the enemies of the prince. We shall soon see if the intentions and conduct of the delegate never change; if his zeal be always exempt from treachery; if he do not exercise at Constantinople, with respect to individuals, the same spirit of injustice which governs his Hospodar at Bucharest or at Jassy.

As soon as the representative of the prince at Constantinople has corrupted the protectors of his master's enemies, he rests not till he has obtained the exile or the death of such enemies; and these two means of vengeance are rarely refused to him. By expedients of this barbarous character, they get rid of petitioners whom they have sold, and appease the inquietudes of the Hospodar who has bought them.

These unsatisfactory results do not, however, discourage the petitioners. Even from the place of their exile, they follow up their ambitious projects, and notwithstanding the innumerable barriers which separate them from the Grand Seignor, and, in despite of the vigilance of the delegate, there are some who have succeeded in bringing to his knowledge the exactions of the reigning princes, whose power they covet. We ought to have lived among the Fanariotes to form an idea of the means which they employ to attain their ends. The fall of a great personage is often attributed, in Europe, to causes highly political, whilst it is frequently the consequence of well-timed respect; of a skilful but treacherous insinuation; or of gold profusely disseminated. [. . .]

When the Fanariote princes who have filled the Hospodariate return to Constantinople their condition becomes extremely perilous; they possess great riches, and their vanity is increased by a reign of short duration in truth, but so absolute that they support with difficulty the nothingness into which they have relapsed. They encompass themselves, as an ingenious writer has said, with the honours which they have enjoyed; they cause themselves to be styled *most serene highness,* and appear still to command where there is nobody to obey. We have shewn above, that they are incessantly striving to regain their power, and their intrigues are what chiefly occupy the vigilance of the delegates of the reigning prince at Constantinople.

The reader recollects that exile and death are very usually the consequence of their intrigues.

It will not be forgotten that I have suffered suspicions of treachery to hover over the head of the representative of the Hospodar; these suspicions should be explained, and this I shall endeavour to do.

It is not always with a design to be useful to his employer that the Bâche Capi Kiahaya solicits the exile or the death of an Ex-Hospodar; it is equally to serve his own particular projects of ambition that he acts; for he also wishes, in his turn, to govern one of the provinces, and the fewer competitors that there are to conquer, the greater will be his chance of success. And thus his arms are traitorously directed against the very person whom he is hired to defend and to second. And it is not without example in the annals of the Ottoman history, that these base conspiracies have turned to the disadvantage of their authors. The reigning Hospodars have been known to recompense with death the calumnies which they have directed against their competitors, and the vengeance of the Vizier to extend itself even to the Bâche Capi Kiahaya. The ordinary series of events brings the exiled princes into these provinces.

One remarkable fact which results from the observations I have made is, that commonly the Hospodar princes who have reigned over the two provinces were men of very moderate understanding; while, on the other

hand, their representatives at Constantinople ranked amongst the best informed Fanariotes, who possessed to an eminent degree the knowledge of intrigue and of action so necessary to courtiers. It is to them, therefore, that we must attribute the disturbances excited against dispossessed princes, and a large part of those which have occasioned the fall of the reigning princes. They have even been observed by their single influence to maintain in favour a Hospodar, who would without them have fallen under the weight of accusations, true or false, ascribed to him by powerful enemies. This latter instance has been most frequent in the families of Morousi [Mourouzis]and Ipsilanti [Ypsilantis]who have always taken care to select from amongst them the person who should be their representative at Constantinople; and (which is more) those amongst them who had the most talent. Thus their reigns have been the longest and the least turbulent. [. . .]

4 The Church

4:1 SUBMISSION TO THE POWERS THAT BE: THE 'PATERNAL EXHORTATION' OF PATRIARCH ANTHIMOS OF JERUSALEM (1798)

Didaskalia Patriki. Syntetheisa para tou Makariotatou Patriarkhou tis Agias Poleos Ierousalim Kyr Anthimou eis opheleian ton orthodoxon khristianon nun proton typotheisa di' idias dapanis tou Panagiou Taphou (Constantinople, 1798).

The Paternal Teaching

To my readers: Anthimos, by the Grace of God, Patriarch of the Holy City of Jerusalem and all Palestine.

Three reasons moved me, my brethren in the faith and children of the Church of Christ, to print the present teaching for the benefit of the Christian brethren reading it.

A. The command of our Lord, who enjoins that each person who has received a gift from God make use of it for the benefit of his brethren, in order that he who hides his talent be not condemned as a deceitful slave.

B. Since I found myself, through divine dispensation and mercy, servant and protector of the most Holy Apostolic and Patriarchal throne of Jerusalem, a throne which is helped and shown consideration by all the Christians of the world in its bodily and essential needs, my conscience did not permit me to remain silent, but impelled me to benefit all my fellow Christian brethren spiritually, as they willingly help materially; just as the Christian faith from the beginning was proclaimed from Jerusalem to all the world as it is written 'from Sion stems the law, and the word of God from Jerusalem'.

C. Since I have arrived at such an age where I await the hour of death at every moment, I take the opportunity, in order to leave as a command and exhortation to the faithful and orthodox people, to declare with brevity to the hearts of all, the correct beliefs of our faith and the deceit and delusion of the devil, who, from generation to generation, continually struggles to dupe, if possible, even the chosen, to topple them from the true faith and to trip them up with snares and delusions; as well as in the

present age, the fiend tries us with newly appearing types of constitution and government, allegedly more desirable and more beneficial, which transgress the true precepts of God and the Christian evangelical life, which is restricted and set about with commandments and laws, both civil and ecclesiastical, which guide the faithful to pass the short time of the present life, with patience in sorrow, and hope, not in the present, but in the future life.

For this reason, we urge all, with a fatherly prayer, to receive zealously these few admonitions, and to sweep away every obstacle, visible and invisible, that you meet with in the examination of the injunctions of God, so as not to be tripped up and fall into an abyss of evil and perdition, that you be not deprived of that eternal blessedness, which, in the patience of our souls, may we all achieve according to our Lord's promise: 'See therefore, brethren, do not be deceived for many shall come in the last days, neither knowing what they say, nor whereof they confidently affirm, to the deception of simple souls'. And take care.

Of the trials of God towards the faithful and the chosen

From among the creatures of God who possess reason and freedom of the will only the devil and man have apostasized against God, and for this they have been condemned according to the incomprehensible and inscrutable justice of God. And the devil has been condemned for eternity to the underworld, because he sinned with pride and arrogance against the divine dignity of God and wished to set his own throne above the heavens and, imagining himself on high, was condemned to the underworld.

Man, however, was not condemned for eternity, because he was deceived by that very devil into imagining himself the equal of God, but was only ejected from the blessed life of paradise for a time, assigned in the present life to eat his bread with sweat, to meet with thorns and thistles, sorrows, misfortunes, tyrannies, sufferings, tears, sickness, persecutions, calumnies, and all such bitter and painful things. All these, however, are transitory.

Since God in his unfathomable compassion, decided that man should die and by being dissolved into the elements from which he was composed, according to the decision of God, to be able in time again to reach paradise, and when he had been tested in the present life and tried with temptations, as gold is tested in the crucible, to be considered worthy again of that blessed life, and to take pleasure eternally in the splendour of heavenly rewards with joy and eternal delight.

For this reason, those men and women who have had, from the time of Adam until the present, this just decision of God rooted in their souls and have known the reason for their exile from paradise, have praised God. And for all that they were exiled, they who had experienced bitterness and

sufferings, they have given thanks and have run through fire and water, patiently enduring the sorrows of the present life and hoping to be restored to the future and blessed life of paradise.

Since, however, this falling Lucifer, the devil, was envious of such great love of mankind on the part of God and, being by nature after his fall full of wickedness, he became a hater of men and he never again ceased inciting man, now towards one delusion, now towards another unseemliness.

Because of this, at diverse times God has sent inspired and righteous prophets, to guide mankind and to teach them and to counsel them to endure with thanksgiving the sorrows of the present life, so as to be worthy of the inexpressible joys of that future life. This compassionate creator, seeing mankind tyrannized over in this way by the devil, in order to hasten and make more easy their salvation, deigned to send his only begotten Son, who, bending back the heavens, came down to earth and gave mankind a new form, causing it to be born again through water and the spirit, and giving himself as the type and model for salvation to all, he ascended from whence he never at all departed, having accomplished the mystery beyond reason of his incarnation.

Who, Christian brethren, could not admire such condescension on our behalf by God? Who cannot take as an example in the present life this same God, seeing him hunger and thirst, in tribulation, in distress, in persecution? This truly is the present existence the life of the true Christian, if he wishes to be worthy of the heavenly kingdom.

But the devil, who never stalks about as a roaring lion, who from the beginning led astray our first parents, and never ceases to sow tares, has made it his aim again to sever the faithful from divine love, and in every way to place difficulties and obstacles in the way of their salvation. And, indeed, in the beginning he raised up persecutors, to chastise with various punishments the Apostles, the Christians, and with persecutions, with bitter deaths, with seizures of their possessions and with exile. But the one who ensnares the wise in his trickery constituted all these things a means of great salvation; he actually strengthened the Christians to suffer these tribulations, and to confess before their persecutors the avowal of their faith, bringing shame on them and the evil devil who prompted them. And truly nothing of human things, wealth, glory, honour, property or possessions, and almost life itself did they prefer to their faith in Christ.

Secondly, when the evil one came to realise that, as a result of his torments and chastisements, not only did he not gain his ends but he caused many thousands of the faithful to be martyrs, he undertook another course of villainy. He sowed the tares of heresies in a treacherous and underhand way, in order to cause the faithful Christians to break with

their faith while yet appearing faithful to Christ, becoming the devil's own special followers, they removing themselves from Christ.

And there are diverse heresies that have appeared from time to time, now against the only son, like that of the Arians, now against the Holy Spirit, like that of the Macedonians, now against the Incarnation, such as that of the Nestorians, Monophysites, Monothelites, Iconoclasts, and innumerable others. Because of these heresies, diverse ecumenical and local synods took place, and having censured these heresies, anathematized these turbulent beliefs, and made clear to the faithful the beliefs against God of the heretics, and strengthened the Christians in the spotless faith; they shamed the fiendish devil and his vessels, the heretics, and thus the holy fathers did not allow the worthy to come to grief, except those who of their own set purpose showed themselves worthy of perdition.

Thirdly, the devil raised from the West another newer heresy for the ruin of the pious, I mean the Latin heresy, different in name but similar to the foregoing heresies and leading to destruction. And with this he led astray all the West. This heresy gave birth afterwards to offshoots and different sects: Lutherans, Calvinists, Luthero-Calvinists, Evangelicals and others without number; this heresy engendered its own destruction, so that it might become clear that it was rotten and unstable, as born of an unsound mind.

However, beloved Christians, here again we should see and admire the boundless love of God towards us. See how clearly our Lord, boundless in mercy and all-wise, has undertaken to guard once more the unsullied Holy and Orthodox faith of us, the pious, and to save all mankind. He raised out of nothing this powerful empire of the Ottomans, in the place of our Roman [Byzantine] Empire which had begun, in a certain way, to cause to deviate from the beliefs of the Orthodox faith, and He raised up the empire of the Ottomans higher than any other kingdom so as to show without doubt that it came about by divine will, and not by the power of man, and to assure all the faithful that in this way He deigned to bring about a great mystery, namely salvation to his chosen people.

The all-mighty Lord, then, has placed over us this high kingdom, 'for there is no power but of God', so as to be to the people of the West a bridle, to us the people of the East a means of salvation. For this reason he puts into the heart of the Sultan of these Ottomans an inclination to keep free the religious beliefs of our Orthodox faith and, as a work of supererogation, to protect them, even to the point of occasionally chastising Christians who deviate from their faith, that they have always before their eyes the fear of God.

The Church of Christ has all the freedom that it has under Orthodox sovereigns of the same faith in the building of churches, as from generation

to generation many splendid churches in different provinces and places have been built with the permission of the mighty Empire. And this imperial approval existed from the beginning, and continues up to the present. And let no one think that, because the building of many churches is sometimes hindered, freedom of Christian worship is thereby curtailed. For shame! This is the superstitition of some, to consider the building of churches a great benefit.

The faith of Christ has achieved all its growth and perfection not with dignified and lavish temples, but with churches wretched and few in number. For God is not found 'in temples made with hands; neither is he sewed by men's hands'. Elsewhere 'You are the Church of God', says the Apostle. And certainly it is according to divine command that the building of churches magnificent beyond necessity is forbidden, 'for our citizenship is in heaven' and 'we have not here an abiding city, we seek after the city which is to come' according to the Holy Apostle Paul.

The arch-apostate, the devil, understanding then these trials of God, that He changes these trials for the faithful people from generation to generation, as a means of their salvation and to enable them to enjoy eternal and inexpressible blessedness, seeks to lead astray and once more to lead to destruction the abandoned chosen faithful. For this he has devised in the present century another artifice and pre-eminent deception, namely the much vaunted system of liberty, which perhaps on the surface appears to be good, so as to deceive if possible the chosen people. It is, however, a trap of the devil and a destructive poison, to drive the people headlong into corruption and confusion.

And since the evil one is wounded in the heart, seeing the soul-destroying treacheries which he had contrived from time to time trampled underfoot, and seeing that this our Orthodox faith flourishes in this powerful empire, in his envy and shame he has summoned, in desperation, all the spirits of evil to help devise this new and ingenious trap, so that in the end even good Christians may finally fall into it and lose their heavenly kingdom and be eternally tortured with him.

Brothers, do not be led astray from the path of salvation; but as you have always with bravery and steadfastness trampled underfoot the wiles of the devil, so now also close your ears and give no hearing to these newly-appearing hopes of liberty 'for now is salvation nearer to us'. And be very certain that their boastings and teachings, as we have been able to understand them, and from what we know in practice of the nations which have received them, that they are not only the direct contradiction of the written word of the Scriptures and the Holy Apostles, which enjoins us to subject ourselves to the superior powers, not only to those that are just but also to those that are perverse, that we may have tribulation in this world, and keep our minds pure for the Lord; they are, I say, not only the

contradiction of Holy Writ, but they do not bring about any transitory good in the present life, as they guilefully promise, in order to lead you astray and to strip you of all riches in heaven and earth.

Where is the glorious and most attractive sight of the envy of all, beautiful Italy? Where now the inexhaustible treasure of the very ancient and serene republic of the Venetians? Everywhere this illusory system of the diabolical one has led to poverty, murder, damage, rapine, complete ungodliness, spiritual destruction and vain repentance.

The teachings of these new libertines, Christian brethren, are deceitful. And beware: guard steadfastly your ancestral faith and, as followers of Jesus Christ, resolutely give your obedience to the civil government, which grants you that which alone is necessary to the present life, and what is more valuable than anything, does not present any obstacle or damage to your spiritual salvation. 'For what is a man profited, if he gain the whole world, and lose or forfeit his own self?'

These newly-appeared teachings, being hostile to the Holy Scriptures and to the Apostolic teaching, even if they were to enable you to obtain all the wealth of the world they should still be hated as a device of the fiendish devil, ever alert for the spiritual destruction of Christians. How much more so when these promises are false and fraudulent, and the consequences are not wealth and blessings but poverty, misfortune and disorder, and what is aimed at by this freedom is a hated oligarchy and tyranny, as experience has shown.

But let us analyse more scientifically the very name of this 'liberty', to see if it can be reconciled with any civil government in which abides order, morality, and safety for its citizens. Let us pass over, for the sake of brevity, monarchical and aristocratic government, as in these (as all admit) such liberty is not granted, and let us examine if, in truth, liberty is granted in a well-administered democratic form of government. When we say 'government' we must mean a group of men, by nature of different constitutions, who inhabit one and the same state, that is the strong and the weak, the healthy and the sick, the wise and the ignorant. Can freedom, then, exist among them?

True freedom is, A, that disposition of the rational soul which, by the grace of God, leads man to the good without, however, compelling him. Such liberty is called 'freedom of the will'. B, it is freedom for man to be able, unhindered to put into practice the appetites of his desires, which is insubordination. C, it is called freedom for someone to live according to divine and human laws, that is to live free of every reproach of conscience and free of civil discipline.

In such a democracy, when we look on men of different dispositions, possessed of free will and insubordinate, how can such a government be formed? The powerful will dominate the weak, the healthy the sick, and

the wise will deceive the ignorant. What order can then remain in such a government, and what morality, when the passions rule? What safety is there for the citizens, when rapine prevails?

The only praiseworthy liberty is the third noted above. This has no place in the system of the new freedom lovers. For how can they live without the reproach of conscience, those who themselves, having been led astray and having been reduced to a wretched condition, are already trying to deceive and to ruin others?

How can they live without any civil discipline, those who despise unsullied marriage, and harm the whole state? How can they live without the reproach of conscience, those of them who, won over by gain, can lightly cheat the civil law; when the fear of God and the threat of eternal punishment is not a bridle against wrong-doing?

You should understand, brethren, that true freedom cannot exist in a good government without faith in God. And for this reason, the Holy Apostles, the immovable pillars of the godliness of our faith, who were enlightened by God, thus preached to the world, thus they and their successors behaved. These same things the Church of Christ received from them and guarded steadfastly.

And when we see with such clarity that this new system of liberty is none other than a confusion and overturning of good government, a path leading to destruction or, simply speaking, a new ambush of the evil devil to lead astray the abandoned Orthodox Christians, are we not going to be judged worthy of all condemnation if we give the slightest hearing to these sly and deceptive teachings? Are we not going to be justly punished afterwards if, knowing most clearly the truth, we follow the guides of the false one against the commandments of God?

No, Christians! Let us have steadfastness and prudence, let us not lose the unfading crowns of eternal blessedness for a false and non-existent liberty in this present life. Let us not deprive ourselves of the inexpressible rewards. Let us not listen at all, in order to bring shame without consolation to the devil, and to enjoy those good things which God has prepared from time immemorial for those who love him.

Strengthen yourselves then, brethren, in the Lord and in the greatness of his strength, take on the panoply of God so that you can resist the machinations of the devil.

Above all take on the emblem of faith, the helmet of salvation and the sword of the spirit, that is the command of God, that you rout every onslaught of the evil one, to be judged worthy of the heavenly kindgom, which may we all succeed in gaining through the love and charity of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be the glory, the honour, and the adoration for ever. Amen.

Political Verses

Let everyone remain in that state to which he has been called,
Let him not gainsay the kingdom to which he is subject.

It is acknowledged by those who discern
Things with the logic of the mind and judge,
How inevitable, and how necessary is
Precise reflection in all the things that have to be done.
Right reason demands that everyone should recognize
One power and one head which has authority over him.
In this way the universe is formed, continues and is governed
From its first creation, and in this way it is preserved.
All creation acknowledges one leader and creator,
In heaven, and on earth, and the whole of nature
Obediently offers itself and bows its head,
To one divine kingdom, set above all.
From which, in imitation of the first monarchy,
Which governs all things with divine solicitude,
From its first beginning the world has been subjected
To one first leader, and thus it has been conserved.
Each nation received its own authority,
And yielded to it with ultimate obedience;
To avoid the many wretched consequences
Of anarchy, or government by the many.
And this the law of nature teaches,
With very many examples it makes it abundantly clear.
Sailors subject themselves to a captain,
And all the dwellers in a house to one master of the house,
And if obedience is lacking, both in house and ship,
Then in the end destruction is certainly expected.
And even the illogical animals are led by nature itself,
Without being led they do not move.
With a leader bees govern their lives,
And flocks following the leading ram,
Such an order is apparent in the things that move,
The relation between the leader and the led.
How much then thinking creatures are obliged
To live with obedience and discipline to the sovereign.
He is, after God, their ruler,
The controller of their possessions, and guardian of their lives.
Both divine and human laws sternly command,

Summon great and small to faith and obedience.
Above all, say the Scriptures, we should praise
Our sovereigns always and for ever,
And again that we should obey the sovereign powers,
As having authority by divine command.
And whoever resists such authority;
Clearly opposes the divine command.
And once again, because the heart of the sovereign is in the hand of God,
And even with one nod of the head the sovereign acts, and not otherwise.
Render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's, it proclaims
And to God that which is God's, it enjoins without fail,
Honour to Him that deserves honour, that which is due to Him that merits it,
And let every member render fear to him.
Hear then, beloved, as an article of our faith,
We should fulfil our proper obligation.
And all fellow-countrymen, since from our beginning,
We never lacked submission,
Let us intensify our faith from the heart.
With absolute obedience and with eagerness
For we are indebted for all the mercies,
Which we enjoy, both old and young,
Not only to offer everything we possess
But also to despise every anarchy.
This is the will of God, this is salvation,
Certainly, this is the true salvation.
And whoever will think otherwise is despairing,
And clearly abandoned by God.
Settlers, all temporarily sojourning in this life,
For this reason, not even do we have a lasting dwelling,
But we warmly seek the future city.
If we have patience so as to become worthy of it
Let us preserve these things, let us fear God.
And let us submit ourselves faithfully to our sovereign,
Not acting according to foreign examples at all,
Knowing full well that all these are but a deception,
All those doing this, steadfastly standing firm
We shall receive both, we shall live certainly
This temporary life and the life eternal,
As it is meet for those who hope for the heavenly kingdom.

4:2 CORRUPTION AND OPPRESSION IN THE CHURCH, A DOCUMENT OF 1796

S. I. Asdrakhas, 'Pragmatikotites apo ton elliniko 18 aiona', *Stathmoi pros tin Nea Elliniki Koinonia*, ed. K. Th. Dimaras (Athens, 1965) pp. 37–40.

Those who in this century rise to office in the hierarchy are slaves and servants either of the patriarch or of the higher clergy: deacons, *protosyngelloi,* or priests of the patriarchate, who slave for their superiors with great patience, in the hope of becoming the successors of their own superior or to become bishops of another diocese. And when the chief priest of a diocese dies, immediately the lobbying begins in force, some going to the patriarch, some going to the senior clergy, some to the notables and their wives, and often to the magnates, and of the many one is lucky and receives the office. But as such as he succeeds, many expenses follow him, five, ten, fifteen thousand *grosia.* Some of these expenses are occasioned by gifts to the go-betweens, some to the Porte, some to the higher clergy, all with i.o.u.s. And if perhaps the diocese also has old debts from the previous incumbents, he promises [repayment of] all these, with 15% [interest] at the least – and there is not a diocese that does not have debts of 10 or 20 thousand *grosia.* This new bishop, then, without having 50 *grosia* of his own, falls into an abyss of debt. He comes to the diocese and has no other way of repaying his debts and of holding the high office, with the many expenses and with the many gifts to the *ağas* or *paşas* of the region, so that his word will prevail, being strengthened by the Porte with the customary powerful *berat* which reveals him to be head of the Greeks of the place. And no one dares to oppose him in the customary ecclesiastical revenues or gifts, those from ecclesiastics, priests and monasteries, as those from the laity. And with this power, immediately he arrives in the diocese, he begins to seek from the villages help for his new high priestly office of from 50 to 100 *grosia,* from the monasteries of from 100 to 200 *grosia*, from the priests, some 10, some 15 *grosia* and so on, all excessive amounts. The poor cannot resist, fearful of excommunications, curses and exclusion from church, the notables are ashamed of the daily coffee and pipes and gifts. The *agas* do not object, for he says to them: 'It is the custom, as my predecessor took it, so do I want it'.

Apart from the above he has his regular dues: 10 *para* from each house, at Easter a lamb from each priest and eggs from each village, sometimes 100, sometimes 200 and sometimes 300. At marriages he takes at the first 45 *paras,* at the second 90 *paras,* at the third he seeks 5 or 10 [*grosia*] and if there is the least relationship between the couple he begins by asking 100 *grosia,* so as to take 50 or 30 or whatever he can. If anyone wishes to

make a new priest, he begins by asking for 100 so as to take what he can, making a reduction so that the go-betweens, Turkish or Greek, who mediate, will owe him a favour. When anyone dies, he does this. He begins at 50 and goes down to whatever he can find to take. If perhaps any monk, either from the monasteries of the Holy Mountain of Athos, or from the Holy Sepulchre, or from Mount Sinai comes to his diocese to circulate to seek alms from the poor Christians, first he must take from him 50 or 60 *grosia* so as to give him permission to circulate in the diocese. [. . .]

Let us suppose a priest has a village of 40 families, he [the Bishop] takes from him 20 *grosia* each year and gives him permission to officiate. A priest has 30 families, he takes from him 15 *grosia* and so on; thus he sells parishes and this gift is called the *emvatikion.* This burden of debt, which they voluntarily bear for their glory, has brought the hierarchy to such a state that, at present, there remains comfort for the poor Greeks only among the *kocabaşıs* and higher clergy, and as the *agas* treat the unfortunate Greeks, so do the *kocabaşıs* and the higher clergy.

A hundred years ago there were not such burdens, but the diocese elected their bishop and asked him to receive it. His principal revenues to pay for his expenses were these: every house gave him 10 *para,* the priests upwards of one Turkish florin every year, the monasteries upwards of two florins and a gift at their pleasure. If he made a new priest, two florins. If a parishioner died and had the means, they gave him a florin and he sang a liturgy; at marriages one *grosion* or at most two. This was enough for him then, because they lived with little pride and much economy [. . .]

Among the other misfortunes of Thebes is this, which other dioceses do not have. Seventeen hundred years after Christ wheat was so cheap that much was not sold [. . .] and a bishop of that time, Philaretos by name, persuaded them and willingly each couple was glad to give him a *kile* of wheat, with those living in shacks giving a half. And from that time it became a law and they give it up to today and they cannot stop it, because it is inscribed in the *ferman* of the bishop; and they also give him four *paras* per house every year [. . .]

4:3 AN ORTHODOX NEO-MARTYR: ATHANASIOS OF SMYRNA (1819)

Rev. Charles Williamson, chaplain to the Levant Company's Factory in Smyrna, to Josiah Tarn of the Church Missionary Society, London. Smyrna, 20 May 1819.

Church Missionary Society Archives, C. M/E 3. Reprinted from Richard Clogg, 'A little-known Orthodox Neo-Martyr, Athanasios of Smyrna (1819)', *Eastern Churches Review* V (1973) 34–5.

Though I have nothing very particular to communicate at this moment yet I embrace the opportunity of a ship going for London to send you a few brief particulars of the Martyrdom which took place a few days ago at Smyrna.

Athanasius, a young man of about four and twenty years of age, in deportment and appearance as handsome as a Cedar of Libanus, in constancy to the Christian Religion as firm as Stephen, as ready as Ridley and Latimer to seal the faith with his blood, was the son of a boatman who carried on a small carrying trade in the Archipelago. The business and gains of the father being insufficient to require the assistance of the son, he was neither brought up to the sea or taught any handicraft trade; he was therefore obliged, as is usual with thousands of his countrymen, to leave the land of his birth, in search of a livelihood, in the situation of a common servant. Having served two or three masters he fell into the service of a Turk in decent circumstances and something above the common rank. The master was pleased with the conduct of his servant and to reward his fidelity, influenced also by the general inclination of converting another of a different faith, often proposed with great offers and temptations to elevate him from the degrading bondage of a Greek to the privileges of a Turk, which can be done only be taking the exterior mark of a disciple of Mahomet with the renunciation of Christianity in the presence of the Meccamay who is the Turkish Bishop and Judge. Every temptation and importunity was humbly and manfully resisted till one fatal festival night when Satan moved his tongue, the words of abjuration once spoken the deed is done! Next morning made the man a Turk!

He remained with his master about a twelve month, suffering no doubt many pangs of conscience for the horrid deed and having no alternative but to die, as he could not live, a Christian. Thus circumstanced, and no doubt, urged by his own people, he resolved to sacrifice his life as an atonement for the crime. With this intention he quitted the Turk and went on a pilgrimage to Mount Athos, covered with convents filled with Monks and Fryars; here he remained some months receiving instructions and preparing for death. On the expiration of his pilgrimage he quitted Mount Athos with the congratulations of the whole body on the prospect of his becoming a distinguished Saint. He arrived at Smyrna in the habit of a Caloyer, a Greek Monk, and went immediately, with the approbation of the Greeks, to the Meccamay's, declaring his resolution to die a Christian rather than live an apostate, a Turk.

The Judge wished to persuade the Turks that he was mad and to save his life, but he persisted in publicly abjuring Mahomedanism and asserting his readiness to die, upon which he was confined in a dungeon and tortured, which he endured with the greatest firmness and patience. The Greeks were afraid that, during his confinement, the tortures and

extravagant promises and allurements of the Turks would shake his resolution, and actually sent a violently fanatical priest to strengthen him to suffer death. On the day of his execution Athanasius was led out of prison with his hands tied behind, he walked firmly to the Square, a very public place, before the large Mosque: he was there again offered his life with riches, women, lands and houses, if he would remain a Turk, but nothing could tempt him to save his life. At last a Turkish blacksmith was ordered by the Captain of the guard to strike his head off, but as a last attempt to induce the sufferer to live a Turk, the executioner was desired to cut a little of the skin of his neck that he might feel the edge of the sword; this last attempt having failed of success, and Athanasius on his knees on the ground declaring with a calm and resigned countenance that he was born with Jesus and would die with Jesus, the horrid deed was finished with a single blow.

The Turkish guard instantly threw buckets of water upon the neck of the corpse and dissevered head, to prevent the multitude of expecting Greeks from dipping their handkerchiefs in his blood, to keep as a memorial of the great event. The body lay guarded and exposed for three days, the breast and stomach towards the ground, the head placed between the legs on the anus. It was afterwards given up to the Greeks and buried in the principal Churchyard. Dearly purchased christian burial!!! In such a circumstance it is difficult to say who are the most culpable, the Turks or the Greeks? The Turks are savages always ready to shed the blood of a Christian. But how abominable that a Church, a Christian Church, should refuse mercy to a fallen member! Oh when will the days come that will open the eyes of these people. [. . .]

4:4 A DEFENCE OF THE ORTHODOX HIERARCHY: THE 'APOLOGY' OF IGNATIOS, METROPOLITAN OF OUNGROVLAKHIA (1815)

Anonymous [Ignatios, Metropolitan of Oungrovlakhia], *Apologia istoriki kai kritiki yper tou ierou klirou tis Anatolikis Ekklisias kata ton sykophantion tou Neophytou Douka syngrapheisa para Kyrillou K kat'epimonon zitisin ton omogenon* ([Pisa], 1815) pp. 73–6

Some [of the higher clergy] sufficiently educated, preach the Word of God from their episcopal thrones, and supporting the Christians in the faith, teach them at the same time good morals.

Others not having this gift (which was uncommon when the Basil the Greats, the Gregory Nazianzens and the Chrysostoms created a stir), enriching, however, sincere virtue, teach while being silent, through the practical example of their piety and good living. Others, being charitable,

devote all their care to the help of orphans, widows, and all those in need of their paternal guardianship. Others, persistently engaged in the enlightenment of the Nation, protect with all their power, schools, teachers and pupils. In a word, each is distinguished by some virtue, and all are fathers, friends and protectors of the people, so that the bond between the higher clergy and their flocks is close and indissoluble. [. . .]

The Church wishes to regard the virtue of the already distinguished Patriarch Kyrillos, and to promote him to his home town, Adrianople [Edirne], which was then vacant. But the people of Iconium [Konya] objected, and would not allow him, so that the Government had to exercise its power, and remove him from there. [. . .]

The Holy [Metropolitan] of Ephesus Dionysios, in leaving Larissa to be translated to Ephesus, occasioned inconsolable grief to the Christians of that diocese. He is rather a worthy metropolitan for the protection which he shows to the educated and to the schools, and for his zeal for the progress of the Nation in learning. [. . .] The Holy [Metropolitan] of Heraclea, Meletios, for all that the revenues of his diocese are small, for that district experienced infinite evils from rebels, supports at his expense five pupils in the School at Constantinople [*Megali tou Genous Skholi*], of whom one, already coming to Vienna has been made a deacon in the Church of the Greeks. [. . .] The Holy Ioannikios [Metropolitan] of Philippoupolis [Plovdiv], while in charge of the Archbishopric of Elasson, so as to inspire the eagerness of the young for study, decided to become a student, and while he gave a good example he profited at the same time while learning those things, that being yet young, he did not have time to hear. The Holy [Metropolitan] of Methymni, Panaretos made a school of his very Metropolis, and since, for such time as he can spare, he dedicates himself to lessons, he obliged even the clergy, who serve him, likewise to become pupils, and to be taught what they should know before they took the priestly profession. [. . .] The Holy [Metropolitan] of Mitylini, Kyrillos, as soon as he arrived in his diocese, took care to build schools in the towns of the island. [., .] The Holy [Metropolitan] of Smyrna, Anthimos, is the protector of the Gymnasion there, on account of which European newspapers have frequently praised this good metropolitan. The Holy [Metropolitan] of Ardameri himself taught his brother, and afterwards setting up a school, appointed him a teacher. His Eminence is not only the protector of this school but is also a teacher, assisting his brother in lessons. [. . .]

5 Banditry and Piracy

5:1 THE KLEFTIC ETHOS: THE BALLAD OF KITZIO ANDONIS

F. H. Marshall, 'Four klephtic songs', *Eis Mnimin S. Lambrou* (Athens, 1935) pp. 42–5.

Kitzio Andonis
Have you heard what happened this summer
On the 17th day of Fructidor?
On the 17th day of Fructidor, on the fourth of August,
Yusuf Arapis set out
Yusuf Arapis passed through with three standards.
To Koumboti he went, he crossed over Makrinoros,
To the villages of Xeromeros, to the houses of Kyr Georgaki;
He went and dismounted at the house of Georgaki.
'Good day to you, my dear Georgaki'. 'Long may you live, my *ağa.*
My *ağa*, what tidings? Do you have good news?'
'The *devletli* sent us, the governor sends us
To attack the *klefts* and Kitzio Andonis too'
'Here we have not seen *klefts,* here there are no *klefts.*
They told us that they passed beyond, over to Makrinoros,
They laid waste to villages, they devastated *vilâyets.*
He [Kitzio Andonis] set fire to churches, fire to monasteries
He made slaves of children, of the wretched women!'
When they heard it both the *proestoi* and the *kocabaşıs*
Went to Ioannina, to the door of the *vezir*;
'Long may you live, *devletli* and the *paşas*
Do you wish him [Kitzio Andonis] to cut us down, do you wish him to make slaves of us?
The *klefts* and this Kitzio Andonis have ruined us'.
'I have given you Yusuf *ağa* and two *derbendağas*'.
'We have seen neither *ağa*, nor *derbendağas*'.
Veli Ghekas ate at the priest's house:
And had news that came to him from Kitzio Andonis.
And Kitzio Andonis passed together with Philpas,
And went and hid high up in Krya Vrysi.
And Veli Ghekas moved with eighteen men,

He took and belted his sword and took his rifle.
He shouted to Kitzio Andonis, he shouts to Kitzio Andonis
'Wait, Kitzio, you cuckold and my first groom.
Kitzio, do not be crazy and wander in the forests.
Kitzio, come and pay homage to me, let us walk together'.
'I, Veli, do not pay homage, nor do I walk with you:
Only come and exchange one or two bullets with me'.
Three bullets they gave him, three in a row.
One hit him in the side, the other in his hand
The shot of Kitzio Andonis, the dog, hit him [Veli] in the head.
His mouth filled with blood, his lips with poison
And his tongue warbles and sings and says
'Where are you, my *palikaria,* and you my scribe?
Take paper and pen, write about my killing;
Take my head, and take my body,
Let not the *klefts* take me
Let not the *klefts* and Kitzio Andonis take me.
Lest they take me to Frangia, to Aghia Maura
Lest enemies see me and rejoice.'

* * * * *

Three little birds were seated (my poor Kitzio Andonis)
High in Karpenisi they lamented and said
They bewailed and said, they lament and say
'What became of you, what happened to you.
What has become of you, what has happened to you this summer,
Have they taken you alive?
And have they taken you alive in the dark *limeri,*
And have the Albanians and the *mühürdar* taken you?
They brought you to Ioannina, to the gate of the *vezir*'.
The *vezir* looked out at him from his window:
'Welcome *mühürdar aga,* welcome, my man.
Mühürdar, what tidings? Have you good news?
Mühürdar, what have you brought us, have you got a good present?'
'I have brought you Kitzio Andonis, his hands bound'.
'Take him and drag him to that plane tree down below.
Do not torture him, that *palikari*
For it would be shameful and unjust to such a *palikari.*
Take hammers, and beat his hands, his feet.
Smash his knees, crush his hands
For he destroyed the Albanians and Veli Ghekas himself
With thirteen youths and other *bölükbaşis.*
And torture him as much as you can.
Make pieces of him'.

5:2 KLEFTS AGAINST THE OTTOMAN PORTE: AN IMPERIAL *FERMAN* OF 1765

I. K. Vasdravellis, *Armatoloi kai Klephtes eis tin Makedonian* (Thessaloniki, 1970) pp. 131–3.

Most Excellent General and *Vezir, Vali* of Thessaloniki, Köprülü Zade Ahmed *Paşa,* may your Glory be increased. Most virtuous of Muslim judges, best of the governors of the monotheists, the fount of virtue and knowledge, *kadı* of Larissa, may your virtue be increased. The pride of the *kadıs,* the fount of virtue and speech, the *kadıs* of Platamon, Elasson, Servia, Domokos, Veroia and Patracik, may your virtue be increased. *Haseki,* sent to the region of Izdin, Veli, *serdars, zabits* of these *kazas,* may your skill be increased.

With the arrival of My Present Imperial *Ferman,* be it known that the *kapetanioi* of the robbers, with men at their disposal, of the *kazas* of Patracik, Platamon, Elasson, Servia, Trikkala, Veroia, of the villages of Argalasti, of Izdin, Lito, Keramidi, Kokorovo, continually incite and press the *raya* of the *kaza* of Larissa to rebellion [. . .] saying that you also, in the manner of the rest of the *kazas*, expelled the guards and chief guards of the passes appointed by the *nazir* and deployed them among the robbers. In addition to this, *kapetanios* Salamouras in the *kaza* of Platamon, *kapetanios* Kolios Haydaroglu and Lazos and Kodros and Katsaounis and Vozikis, in the *kaza* of Elasson, *kapetanios* Mikhos and Markos and Kostas in the *kaza* of Servia, *kapetanios* Tsomis in the *kaza* of Domokos, *kapetanios* Asteriadis and Babos and Vekhas and Stamoulis in the *kaza* of Trikkala, Belikas and Brakos in the *kaza* of Veroia, *kapetanios* Kontoyiannis in the *kaza* of Patracik with his companions Dimitrios of Goura and Mitros, the lesser *kapetanios* Zidros and Tsolak in the *kaza* of Larissa, united and agreeing with the *kapetanioi* of the robbers of Elasson, Platamon, Trikkala and Servia, have captured most of the inhabitants of the villages of Mount Olympus, for whom they have set as a ransom between five and six hundred *grosia,* have invaded the village called Kalliani, and they have plundered, according to the inspection and appraisal later made by the secretary of the *kadi,* all the furnishings and belongings to be found in the houses of the *raya*, and they have loaded ninety four mules belonging to the same *raya*, after they had killed four inhabitants and wounded one, and set fire to 122 houses. As a consequence of this the *raya* of this village, as did the inhabitants of the other villages of Olympus, abandoning their villages out of fear, all fled to Larissa. Moreover, the value of the pillaged property and animals, with the ransoms paid for the release of the captured *raya*, amounts to, as is confirmed in the aforementioned report, 16,630 *grosia.* For this reason the *kadı* of Larissa and its inhabitants, in a petition, sought the publication of

my sacred command about the arrest of these robbers and their obligation to return this amount to its rightful owners. Already you, *Vali*, in agreement with my specially sent *baseki* and the inhabitants of the above *kazas*, take care to arrest these wherever they may be found and to oblige them to return the value of the objects they have expropriated and of the ransoms imposed to their principals, carrying out the necessary against them. Impose order and report on the measures taken. Already as soon as you receive this high *ferman* of mine, since I do not wish for injustices to be practised against the inhabitants, take care that affronts or arbitrary acts do not take place against those who did not take part in this robbery, but arrest and imprison the above brigands wherever they may be found and take back the stolen objects and animals, as well as the ransom imposed, returning these to the principals and cleansing the place of evildoers. So as not to give occasion to the repetition of similar acts of banditry, you must oblige them to a mutual guarantee, imposing order. Report on this to my capital and take care, without the negligence of anyone, of the quiet and safety of the inhabitants. For this reason I have published the present *ferman,* and as soon as it arrives, act on its contents, avoiding contrary things. Knowing these things give credence to my imperial seal.
Written at the end of Zil Hicce 1178 a.h. [20 June 1765] in Istanbul.

5:3 PIRACY IN THE AEGEAN: AN IMPERIAL *FERMAN* OF 1809

Ioannis K. Vasdravellis, *Armatoloi kai Klephtes eis tin Makedonian* (Thessaloniki, 1970) pp. 145–6.

Most wise *vali* of Thessaloniki, most just of *kadıs*, the most select of the governors of the monotheists, mine of wisdom and divine knowledge, the standard bearer of the Sacred Law and of the Faith, the inheritor of the knowledge of the prophets, the one in whom the great grace of the benificent Emperor is vouchsafed, may your virtues increase. And you, chief guard of My Sublime Porte, Yusuf Bey, son of Ismail Bey of Serres, the pride of the ancestors and nobles, the embodiment of all agreeable and laudable attributes, in whom the great grace of the eternal Empire is vouchsafed, may your zeal continue.

As soon as My High Imperial *Ferman* arrives, be it known that, on account of the robbers and pirates, who for years gathering in the islands of the Ak Deniz [Aegean Sea], have brought destruction to those passing through, some time ago a High Imperial *Ferman* was issued so that four corvettes of My Imperial Fleet with Halil Bey, the model of the ancestors and notables, may his zeal increase, appointed as commander of the squadron who, with the commander of the ketches of Thessaloniki,

Captain Hacı Hüseyin, model of the ancestors and notables, may his zeal increase, might proceed to the destruction and annihilation of these pirates. These, in the performance of their service, directed themselves against the bandits and with their great and small galleons, succeeded, Allah be praised, in pressing and confining them to the island of Kücük Camlıca [Spetsopoula].

These robbers were principally *raya*, subject to tax, inhabitants of My High State, and they fell into robbery on account of rebellions and bad behaviour, which they demonstrated in their *kazas*. They confess their sins and dishonour and seek from My High State pardon and amnesty. These things the aforementioned commander of the squadron mentioned in his report. They are offering to give from themselves eight hostages, they promise in the future to be good *raya* and in no way again to enter upon the least activity opposed to my will. They amount to about 600, the women and children near them to 400, divided into six groups. These things are written in the report of the commander of the squadron, and of the captain of the ketches, who asked what they should do on the point in question, having finally asked for the issuing of My Permission.

Although the presumption of these *raya* in carrying out these shameful act calls for the exemplary punishment of beheading, since they have promised that in the future they will not proceed to any act opposed to my will, or contrary to the conditions of *rayadosyni*, and since, confessing the crimes and errors they committed and beseeching forgiveness and seeking amnesty, the gates of My Imperial Concern and Compassion are open. And since My present High Admiral and *vezir* Haci Ali *Paşa,* respected magnate, exceptional general, governor of the world, may his renown be permanent, expressed by a document the opinion that My Imperial Permission be published, that their ships be seized and anchored in My Imperial Naval Yard, that they to be repatriated to their *kazas* and villages, where they were born, My Imperial *Ferman* has been published, that the leaders and followers sent to you with the women and children of one of the groups seeking pardon, be repatriated and established in their regions.

You, therefore, the aforementioned and most wise *bey*, as soon as you have cognizance that My Imperial Permission has been published, that these are to be repatriated and re-established in their original homelands under the conditions they have accepted, that other of My High *Fermans* have been issued for the resettlement of the other five bands, to establish the members of one of the bands sent to you and submitting to you, with their women and children in their region, according to their promises, you are to take the necessary measures, so that nothing be done, contrary to the conditions of *rayadosyni*, send and mention to My Sublime Porte the names and numbers of those repatriated.

I commend you, as soon as the present arrives, to carry out according to the above. Knowing this, give credence to My Imperial Seal.
Mid Rebi'ul Akir [29 May 1809]

5:4 PIRACY IN THE AEGEAN: A SHIPWRECK ON TINOS, 1813

Public Record Office: State Papers 105/133

Pera 13th March 1813

His Excellency The Right Hon(oura)ble Robert Liston
His M(ajes)ty's Ambassador Extr(aordina)ry &c &c &c

Sir,

I have the honour to inform your Excellency that I have received a letter, accompanied with different Documents, from Our Vice Consul Mr Vitali at Tino, stating that, having proceeded with the Aga & Primates of the Island to the spot on which the English Brig (Jane & Sally), Capt(ai)n Williams, was wrecked on the 5th. Feb(rua)ry, in order to save what he could of the Cargoe, he found there Several Greeks with Boats from different parts of the Island, & particularly from a place named Oxomereo; & those Boats containing Goods, part of the Cargo; and that on his demanding the restitution of them, the Greeks headed by a priest of their's named Costandi Palamari, Vicar of the Bishop of Oxomereo, obstinately refused it, and even with threats & arms in hand, like pirates, hindered him from examining the boats & and the goods they contained, (Shalloons, Muselins, Cinamon, Cocheneal, & other Articles,) which, in spite of all his remonstrances, they carried away, with some of the Ship's brass & iron Guns, anchors, Cables &c &c. Mr. Vitali represents that the Greek priest, whose profession should have taught him to set a very different example, was the most violent and made use of the most abusive and insulting language against him, refusing to acknowledge his Authority as British Vice Consul. He states also that he succeeded in recovering only the following artices Viz.

3 Balles Cotton Yarn
22 pieces Cloth
1 Balle writing paper
1 Iron Canon
12 pieces Shalloons
32 Do Muslins

A vessel from Malta bound to Smirna very richly laded was wrecked in the Year 1809 on the Island of Paros, but our Vice Consul at Naxia, Mr. Frangopulos, far from meeting with the same opposition on the part of the

people of Paros, received assistance from them in the recovery of the whole Cargo. The inhabitants of Tino, & particularly the priest aforementioned, deserves therefore to be severely punished, the more especially as the sad example they have given in this instance, may be attended with very fatal consequences to our trade to the Levant which is becoming daily more considerable. Consequently I beg leave to submit to your Excellency's consideration the means that may most effectually produce that good effect, which Mr. Vitali thinks would be in sending an Officer from the Porte, properly authorised to punish the guilty.

In addition thereto I beg leave to suggest that the Greek Patriarch's excommunication against all those of his persuasion, who shall refuse to return the Goods they have carried off in the piratical manner, will produce a good effect, and as there may have been Some Roman Catholicks amongst the plunderers, a similar step on the part of their Arch-Bishop here, Mr. Fonton, will be very beneficial.

I beg leave to add that Mr. Vitali complains much of the Aga for not giving him the least assistance, as it was his duty to do, in obliging the Greeks to restore the Goods seized by them; & he foresees that he will, notwithstanding his uselessness, demand a reward for having merely accompanyed him with the primates to the spot where the wreck happened.

I have the honour to be with great respect and deference &c &c

Isaac Morier

[The Levant Company's consul in Constantinople]

6 Cultural Life: Enlightenment and Reaction

6:1 HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE GREEK WORLD: THE ACADEMY OF AYVALIK (KYDONIES), 1818

Extract from the journal of the Rev. William Jowett. Church Missionary Society Archives, C. M/E 3. Reprinted from Richard Clogg, 'Two accounts of the Academy of Ayvalık (Kydonies) in 1818–1819,' *Revue des Etudes sud-est européennes*, X (1972) 640–8.

In the evening we struck across in a dead calm towards Haïvali [. . .] At ten we anchored & slept till five. By seven o'clock we arrived at Haïvali.

Thursday May 21. I immediately went to the Vice Consul; and after resting nearly an hour he accompanied me to the school. We entered the apartment of Gregorius, the principal Master; a shrewd looking, placid man. I presented my letter from the Bishop of Smyrna, which was a very long one. In the reading of it, Gregorius had time enough to see that I was to be well received. When he had finished it, he very mildly laid his hand to his breast & said [. . .] : 'I am glad to see you; welcome'. Pipes & sweetmeats & coffee were then served up; during which I had full leisure to explain my wishes. We then went all together to the Apartment of the second Master Theophilus; where the same ceremony of sweet meats & coffee were performed. He is a more plain, blunt, natural character. They then showed me the library consisting of about 7 or 800 volumes, among which is a complete set of the Greek classics. They have also many astronomical & other scientific instruments. The third master joined us, his name is Eustratius, he is [. . .] one-eyed. I walked round the college, which is a large quadrangular building fifty four of my steps in length & thirty four in width: you may say 140 feet long & 90 wide. It is surrounded on three sides with small [. . .] chambers, for the reception of such scholars as come from foreign parts. There may be about a hundred such foreign scholars: and, at present, about another hundred belonging to the town. The chambers are in number 72. The foreign scholars pay nothing for the use of them & nothing for tuition. They have only food, raiment & books to pay for. There are two stories. On the upper story is a large circular room, where the lectures are given: and also a large oblong room for the third master, & the inferior masters. In the centre of this quadrangle is a

garden of herbs & two or three flourishing almond trees. One side of the College is washed by the sea.

I then went with the Consul, to call on two or three other persons to whom I had letters of introduction. Among these was one Emmanuel Amminiti, who had a good house, where I was not sorry to be invited to take up my quarters. His Father, mother, brothers & sisters live in it. But as he is the smartest, most active young man in the family, he has the management of everything. In the afternoon I walked out with him & two or three others to see the town. Dirt is inseparable from the idea of a Turkish or Greek town. The streets are many of them either flowing or stagnant with water impregnated with rancid oil. In the skirts of the town there is a Colony of Moriotes, who have built houses & lived here since the time of the misfortunes which Russia occasioned to the Morea; about forty years ago. They prefer living apart & even retain their different dress. Further out on the sea side are two Hospitals. One of them for general purposes. It had a neat Dispensary, which had been established however only three weeks. A little further on is the other Hospital for Lepers. It was founded by a Leper. Elephantiasis is no uncommon disorder in these parts; its effects are very offensive. I saw poor men & women with their fingers or legs or other limbs literally wearing & wasting away. [. . .]

Passing through an Orchard, we found a single Quince tree. These formerly, it is said, grew wild here in great abundance, before the town was built; that is about 200 years ago: and give the name to it. Haivali & Kydonia, meaning in Turkish and Greek respectively Quince-Town. In the evening my Host sat alone with me; and gave me a good deal of information about Smyrna & this place.

Economus, the Master at Smyrna he knows well, & is quite of his party. He tells me the enterprizing manner in which he has risen to his present eminence, and how, at Yannina, Ali Pasha cast him into prison. [. . .]

Haïvali, which is about 200 years old, maintains its liberty by buying the Turkish Governor. The necessity for this arises hence. Let the Greeks endeavour to settle disputes as they will amongst themselves, yet a fractious, non-suited fellow may always appeal to the Turkish cadi. If therefore they had no Turkish Governor, they would be annoyed by their causes travelling abroad. They therefore pay for the formality of a Governor. There are not above ten Turks in the place; a nominal Guard. It is particularly to be remarked that they have no mosque in the place. The population may be about 25,000. The Greek constitution is of this nature. The city is divided into three districts. There are three Ephori & three Senators. To these six, are added another six, making what they call the Twelve. And there are three called [*prokritoi*] before whom causes are come first, with liberty of appeal to the Twelve. This account although I was very minute in my enquiries, was the best I could get. It is not quite so

full & clear as Blackstone! But Turkey is a country where the theory of Law has less influence over its practice, and the practice is less reducible to Theory, than in any other. The temper of a single individual may for several years quite destroy the balance of power here; as was the case about thirty years ago, when they had almost a Monarchy among them; and when, as Amminiti tells me – (I can believe him) – things went on better; with less intrigue & quarreling. There are no Jews in the place. He tells me that they expect to have a printing-press shortly. They sent a person last September to Paris, for this purpose.

The College, Library, Printing-press & every thing of this kind is wholly undertaken & supported by the liberality of the Natives at Haïvali. The public, national spirit of the Greeks deserves great commendation.

Friday May 22. This morning I went to the College to attend the lectures. Gregorius had about fifty scholars sitting round the large room, whom he lectured scientifically on Greek Grammar. He was explaining the tenses, which he did as well as Lindley Murray. I was surprised on the conclusion of his lecture, to hear him begin a short panegyric on the stranger in the room. He explained to the scholars, 'how much they ought to feel both honoured & encouraged by the appearance of visitors from such distant countries to see, as in aneient times, the state of learning amongst them; now unhappily fallen so much into decay, though beginning to revive'. I was musing, not without some embarrassment, whether any reply was expected when Gregorius delicately concluded his harangue by saying, that they could only best express their feelings by the silence of respect. Upon which he retired.

I next attended Theophilus. About thirty were present, while to my surprize he lectured on the 11th. section of Newton. His audience however could not all understand him. He selected the more popular astronomical parts which he represented on a large black board with chalk. I liked their practice of putting questions to him though some asked very absurd ones; at which the good man was a little nettled. He concluded his lecture with a much more broad style of compliment to me, in which he endeavoured to pronounce my name, but murdered it sadly. As I had passed the ordeal once, I almost felt enough at liberty to laugh at hearing it so pronounced. [. . .]

This College was not built till school-masters had been here some time. Eugenius of Vourla had a school near the church of the Virgin Mary; subsequently Benjamin & Gregorius taught there: till in 1803 the college was built. Theophilus is a newer Master; he has studied two years at Paris & three at Pisa.

I had not heard at Smyrna of any Christians that understood Hebrew. Here they told me that there was one of the name of Georgios o Vousagagis [. . .]

I told them I should send an account of them & their proceedings to England & expressed my surprize that they did not write a history of Haïvali, before the traditional memory of its origin vanished. Gregorius intimated that he was preparing a history of it.

The plan of Theophilus is to go through a course of mathematical & philosophical lectures which lasts three years. He is just finishing his first three years' course. The scientific part of education in Greece is evidently in its infancy.

They have one feature of the British system of teaching. When I expressed surprise that there were so few masters to two hundred scholars (They have only four Masters & a music master (i.e. to teach church chanting) [. . .] they mentioned that the elder scholars taught the younger: and some of those who came from more distant parts make a little money in this way, towards bearing their expences. As I looked into their little rooms, I saw this was the case.

I asked how many Masters they had furnished for Greece? They enumerated about twelve schools in various towns & islands which had sprung from them. They are small, but it is a hopeful sign! One is on the southern Coast of the Black Sea. Their holidays are from June 15 to August 31. If I had come a month later, I should have seen little or nothing.

In the evening they preserve discipline by locking the gate of the College. At dinner it was a fast & I was obliged to eat my meat by myself. After dinner I called upon the Consul, who had just received from his brother, Vice Consul of Tino, a small Vessell laden with ashes. This was for the soap manufactory. Haïvali & the surrounding country is very fertile in oil, as also in Mitylene. My host Manuel Amminiti has just sent a Brig to Marseilles laden with oil – (for which no doubt he must have bribed the Turks; for it is contraband) – he has also a large Soap Manufactory. I went over it. Their soap is neither coloured nor scented. Their manufactures are in the simplest state.

6:2 'SENSE OF THE PAST': AYVALIK (KYDONIES) IN 1817

Ambroise Firmin Didot, *Notes d'un Voyage fait dans le Levant en 1816 et 1817* (Paris, 1826) pp. 385–7.

[. . .] I found, amidst this small colony of educated young Greeks, quite a large number of pupils who, at my request, undertook to abandon vulgar Greek in their conversation, to revive within the confines of the College the language of Demosthenes and Plato. The enthusiasm provoked by the resolution which we decreed extended to the common names of Ioannis, Georgios, Iannakis and Ilarion, which were changed to those of Xenophon,

Aristeides, Themistocles and Epaminondas, without much reflection as to the respect and duties which such names demanded.

May God direct all our actions and words.

Resolution

Under the direction of Theophilos, Grigorios and Efstratios, teachers in the Academy (*Ellinomouseion*) of Kydonies, on the 20 March 1817, the undersigned have resolved:

Wishing to take up our ancestral tongue, and ardently desiring to reject the gross and vulgar language, as wholly unbecoming to us the descendants of those Hellenes, we have all decided to decree this law, so that each of us, whenever we gather together, is obliged to converse in the Hellenic tongue [ancient Greek].

Law

Each of us is to speak, as far as possible, in the Hellenic language. Whoever does not do this, is, as a punishment, to recite a page of Homer before us.

Those resolving

Angelis . . . Alcibiades	Samouil . . . Nicias
Didot . . . Anacharsis	Ilarion . . . Xenophon
Ioannikios . . . Aristeides	Panayiotis B . . . Pelopidas
Tzanos . . . Epaminondas	Ioannis . . . Pericles
Dimitrios . . . Themistocles	Leontios . . . Phocion
Theophanis . . . Cleanthes	Konstantinos . . . Chabrias
Dimitrios K. . . . Miltiades	Kharalambis . . . Pausanias
Vasileios . . . Agesilaos	Georgios . . . Patrocles

Methodios scripsit . . . Diogenes

We gathered in turns with one of those who had subscribed to the decree. Different conversations, the reading of the ancient poets or the recitation of Euripides' *Hecuba*, which we presented with great spectacle in the cellars of the College, occupied all our evenings. The doors were then carefully closed, for fear lest one could see from outside the arms which the actors carried. This excuse alone would have sufficed to close the *gymnasion*, as it had the previous year, when the Turks, seeing a French music master beating time to the pupils, claimed that in this way they were being instructed in the military art. [. . .]

6:3 LANGUAGE AS A REFLECTION OF GREECE'S CLASSICAL HERITAGE: GRIGORIOS ZALIKOGLOU (1809)

Lexikon tis Gallikis glossis, para Grigoriou G. Zalikoglou Thessalonikeos (Paris, 1809) Preface.

Fellow countryman, we must guard our Language, if we want our nation and our faith to exist vigorously for all time. On it are based our good

hopes. Certainly [the language], in all its powers, makes it easier for us once again to assume the enlightenment of our ancestors. It is the only ancestral treasure that remains to us, the one certain pole which draws us together and embraces us, the one natural bond that unites us. Myriads of others share the same faith, but not having the same language, will never become one with us. For as long as we preserve uncorrupted this divine language, this sacred fire, the race of the Greeks remains immortal, and we, and our descendants, bear the marks of our nobility, that we are the true blood descendants of those who laid the first foundations of the civilisation of the human race, both now and in the future, until the end of the world. What happened to the descendants of the Greeks in Asia, in Africa, in Sicily, in so many other islands, in Italy, in Greater Greece? Neglecting the tongue of their fathers, they forgot both name, glory and pride. But what do we seek afar? Those around us called Turks, are they not, most of them, the descendants of Greeks? Are they not our brothers? Are they not Greeks? In fact the millions of them that inhabit Greece today came neither from Asia, nor elsewhere, but because they abandoned the language and name of their ancestors, they do not partake of their glory. The Athenian boasts today of the good sense of Themistocles, the Macedonian of the bravery of Alexander. But who does? And who in particular? Whoever guards in his mouth and in his hearing the language of those [ancients]. Those who do not preserve this language neither dare, nor think of boasting of such ancestors. And not because they believed in the Koran, for neither did Themistocles know the Gospel. But because they no longer have their language. We weep over the destruction of our inheritance, when they [the Turks] crush the monuments of their intelligence and taste. We owe indeed the preservation of the language to the maternal guardianship of our blameless Church, but the language has guarded the nation; while the nation preserves the Church. [. . .]

6:4 EDUCATIONAL SELF-HELP: 'THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS OF THE MUSES' (*PHILOMOUSOS ETAIRIA*), VIENNA, 1815

Georgios Laios, 'I Philomousos Etaireia tis Viennis (1814–1820), Nea Engrapha', *Epetiris tou Mesaionikou Arkheiou,* XII (1962) 205–10.

Ioannis Antoniou Count Kapodistrias to Alexandros Vasileiou. Greetings.

The Archimandrite Anthimos Gazis has communicated to Monseigneur the Metropolitan Ignatios [Oungrovlakhias], to myself and to a number of our fellow countrymen the news which he had received from Athens about the foundation there of the Society of Friends of the Muses [*Philomousos Etairia*]. At the same time he has informed me of the worthy objective which he has of founding a similar institution for the benefit of the *gymnasion* of Mount Pelion in Thessaly, with whose organisation he has been occupied for a number of years.

All of us here, children of our Motherland, which cherishes us and to which we owe everything, have unanimously vowed a particular care and attention to this important object, so as to regulate in the manner most suitable to the needs of our country, and in the manner most fitting to justify the benevolence which enlightened and virtuous men of the civilised world show us. We have deemed it suitable to take advantage of the present time, when great events have brought together in Vienna all that is most illustrious in Europe, to enable a large number of persons to participate in a salutary work, commenced under such happy auspices, by the Society of Friends of the Muses.

In order that the School of Athens and the *gymnasion* of Mount Pelion may share these benefits, to spread as widely as possible the assistance accorded by benefactors, and by this to fulfil their true intention, we have created here, on the basis of the founding statutes of the Athens institution, a Society which intends to distribute the funds furnished by its members with perfect equality, for the progress of the school in Athens and for the improvement of the *gymnasion* of Mount Pelion. [. . .]

Distribution and Employment of Funds

Art. *vii.* Every year in December, the Director of the Central Account will call together in his residence the members of the Society who are in Vienna. He will make known to them, through his account book, the present state of funds, after deductions for necessary expenses, as well as the distribution of the funds into equal parts.

He will then address two circular letters, one to the *Ephors* of the School of Athens, the other to those of the *gymnasion* of Mount Pelion to inform them of the sums at their disposal. [. . .]

viii. The communication in this matter, accompanied by the present Regulation, will serve to inform the *Ephors* of the two institutions of the firm and irrevocable intention of the subscribers with regard to the use of the sums that they destine for the progress of the institutes, enunciated under the following heads:

(a) If need be, for the salary of the teachers, who are actively employed in the instruction of pupils of the two schools.

(b) In case of need, the improvement or building for the purposes of education.

(c) The purchase of books, instruments, maps, apparatus or other objects basically necessary for instruction.

(d) A prize to present each year to those of the pupils who most distinguish themselves in their scholastic exercises.

(e) The support in the Universities of Germany of those among the pupils (1) who promise the most by their aptitude in the sciences; (2) whose families are not in a position to pay for the cost of their education, and (3)

who undertake, after having completed their studies, to return to their country, to devote themselves either to the ecclesiastical state or to the profession of teacher. [. . .]

The Foundation of the Society of Friends of the Muses in Athens and of the Gymnasion of Mount Pelion

These two institutions, the one emulating the other, have been born on the soil of Greece, in that land rich in marvels, and peopled with great memories. That of Mount Pelion is situated in the same place where Chiron once gave lessons in virtue and heroism to Achilles. The Society of Friends of the Muses is situated in Athens, so as to carry out its mission, which is to favour in Greece the progress of enlightenment and of European civilisation. It invites all those who bear the name of Greek, and who are impatient to render themselves worthy of it, to contribute to this salutary enterprise. In acceding to this solemn invitation, Greeks will only be carrying out a filial duty towards their motherland. Foreigners will be paying the tribute of a gratitude as unalterable as the sentiment of the beautiful and of virtue. [. . .]

Article I

The Society of Friends of the Muses has as its object the furnishing of the necessary funds for the propagation of studies in Greece, for the publication of classical works, for the support of poor youths who dedicate themselves to science, and to the search for antiquities of all kinds. The Association of the Mount Pelion is to found a regular School, after the example of the Academies of the rest of Europe. [. . .]

Article VIII

Fragments of Antiquities that can be collected will be deposited in the two main places, in Athens and on Mount Pelion, in special buildings called Museums. The *ephors* of Mount Pelion undertake in addition to carry out botanical researches, to make known the curious plants that this region produces and whose existence, it may be presumed, is not known in the rest of Europe.

Article IX

The Society grants to subscribers, as a sign of their enrolment, the right to wear a ring, gold for benefactors, bronze for ordinary members, adorned with the emblem of the owl, dear to Minerva, with the inscription on the inside: *philomouson,* to the Friends of the Muses. The members enrolled particularly for the Gymnasion of Mount Pelion, will wear a ring with the image of the Centaur and of Achilles.

The number of subscribers has already reached almost two hundred people of different nationalities. M. Alexandros Vasileiou, a Greek merchant, Untere Baeckerstrasse No. 793, is charged with receiving subscriptions. [. . .]

6:5 SCIENTIFIC LEARNING AND OBSCURANTISM IN THE DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES: DANIIL DIMITRIOS PHILIPPIDIS (1803)

Daniil Philippidis, Iaşi, Moldavia, 27 October 1803 to Barbie du Bocage, Paris.

Aikaterini Koumarianou (ed.), *Daniil Philippidis–Barbié du Bocage-Anthimos Gazis, Allilographia (1794–1819)* (Athens, 1966) pp. 122–3.

[. . .] I have seen with much pleasure that you have received five copies of the first volume of the Greek version of l'Astronomie* and that you have handed one over to Lalande from my cousin [Anthimos] Gazis and myself. Tell him, I beg of you, in giving him my respectful compliments, that if he has been delighted to see my promise carried out, I have been the more so to have been able to carry it out during his lifetime. Tell him not to forget to write to me. O my friend, how most of our lettered Greeks are pedants! Stupidly attached to antiquated words and phrases, they regard true knowledge, knowledge of the things so useful and necessary to man in all respects, as something frivolous which ordinarily concerns men without religion, atheists. This, dear friend, is the epithet that the ignorant and superstitious lavish on those who try to develop the faculties that the Creator has endowed them with, on those who study nature and whom I regard as truly religious. A few days ago they denounced me as an atheist to the metropolitan. The scoundrels! When one is not ignorant and immoral as they are one is an atheist! But I have replied to their infernal informing in a manner satisfactory to everyone. This is what caused their abominable protest. Some time ago the overseers of the public school, where up to the present only literary Greek has been taught, in a pedantic manner that is to say never learning it, have proposed that I accept a place to teach mathematics and physics. I have agreed. My agreement made the Greek teacher furious. He wanted to oppose it, and not having any other argument against me, for I enjoy here with the prince and his court some reputation, he employed the insults that the ignorant usually hurl at educated people, but by this step he only attracted the scorn of almost all the nobles. Next week I shall start to give public lessons. From now on I will lodge in the school. My address will be: To my friend Philippidis, Professor of Mathematics at the College of the Prince.

The ruling prince of Moldavia [Alexandros Mourouzis] is an educated man, he speaks French, Italian and Turkish well. I see him from time to time and sometimes dine at his table. The first time that I saw him he asked for news of Lalande whose reputation he knew. A few days ago I

* *Epitomi astronomias* . . . (Vienna, 1803), a translation of J. J. Le Français de Lalande, *Astronomie* (Paris, 1764).

carried out certain experiments in his presence. The taps and tubes that you sent me served me for this. I burst some bladders and people were astonished to see for the first time that air coming from decomposed water shares the terrible effects of gunpowder.

My other cousin Grigorios [Konstantas] has left Smyrna for Trieste, from where he will go to Vienna. He is going to print a course of philosophy in four octavo volumes.* He has translated it from the Italian but the philosophy and the chemistry are not what they have become during the last twenty years by the genius and immortal works of Kant and Lavoisier. Previously they were but the sciences of children, but as we are but children, this old philosophy will be useful to us. I am well pleased that my cousin Grigorios will be in Vienna, a man such as he will be necessary for the printing of Brisson's Physics† that I have already translated. I will publish a course of pure mathematics. I clearly foresee that these toad-like villains will raise their impure heads from the mire in which they wallow to cry impiety! But one must have courage and not be afraid of their infernal mouthings. [. . .]

6:6 ENLIGHTENMENT AS THE HANDMAIDEN OF IRRELIGION: A PATRIARCHAL ENCYCLICAL OF 1819

K. Th. Dimaras, *O Korais kai i Epokhi tou* (Athens, 1953) pp. 299–304.

Grigorios, by the Grace of God Archbishop of Constantinople, the New Rome, and Ecumenical Patriarch.

Most Holy Metropolitans and Most Honourable and Godly Archbishops and Bishops subject to Our Most Patriarchal, Apostolic and Ecumenical Throne, beloved brethren and concelebrators in the Holy Spirit, Most Honourable Clerics, Most Devout Priests, Most Noble *Arkhons* and Honourable *Proestoi* and *Prokritoi,* and all the rest of the blessed Christians. Grace be unto you and the peace of the Lord.

It would appear strange and undoubtedly superfluous if, intending to speak ecclesiastically about the present state of the schools (*Ellinomouseia*) of our Nation, we prided ourselves on commencing with general praise of education and learning, and on amassing exemplary reminders and commendatory proofs of this God-given thing. For in our earlier patriarchates we have already prided ourselves on fulfilling ecclesiastically all that essential obligation in demonstrating the benefits of education and

* [G. F. Soave], *Stoikheia tis logikis, metaphysikis, kai ithikis* . . . , 4 vols. (Venice, 1804).

† M. J. Brisson, *Traité élémentaire, ou Principes de physique* . . . , 3 vols. (Paris, 1789).

in giving suitable protection to academies, for common benefit. And already, we see, by the Grace of God, the rise of the Christian virtues in the hearts of our god-loving compatriots everywhere, and a most warm zeal, not only for the inspection of flourishing schools but also for the creation of other new ones in those places in which a long time ago the most dazzling light of education was extinguished. Ignorance – in a word – put to flight, and the muses gladly returning to their welcoming homeland [. . .] Abandoning, then, this untimely pride in our preamble [. . .] we proceed to advise paternally [. . .] For it is not possible for us to pass over in silence some unbecoming things, which coinciding with this pleasing inner disposition of ours, have cut short our hopes [. . .] These things are some satanic obstacles hindering the progress of our youth in achieving true education, and in the fulfilment of its end, that is the accomplishment of Christian works. In some places there flourishes a despising of grammatical teachings and a complete neglect of the arts of Logic and Rhetoric, and above all the teaching of the highest Theology. [This despising and neglect] derives from the complete dedication of pupils and teachers as well wholly to mathematics and the sciences, and [there exists] a coldness towards our unblemished faith, and an indifference to the traditional past, deriving from certain immoral men [. . .]

They put it about that the language of [our] ancestors, that Greek voice, is both difficult in comprehension and use and is in a way superfluous to the Nation today, and intrude some grotesque innovations and new rules, so that some have dared, as we have learnt, openly to come out against it and to use against it insulting and unbridled language [. . .] This Greek language is admired and applauded by all learned Europeans, and is the only valuable treasure vouchsafed to us, and the only characteristic relic of ancestral nobility so that those crooked lipped ones and acrobats with words and misfits are manifestly raving mad and are shamefully lying. And the teaching of grammar, in comparison and contrast, is more beneficial to the nation and more necessary than the teaching of mathematics and the sciences, for the one [grammar] contributes generally to all, or to most professions and the usefulness of the other [mathematics] is seen in other things. And the present state of the nation demands that the former [grammar] be taught in the schools, and that the main work should not become a sideline and the sideline not become the main work, and the merely useful receive preference over the necessary. For to what benefit are the young dedicated to such teachings, to learn numbers, and algebra, and cubes and cube roots, and triangles and triangulated tetragons, and logarithms and symbolic logic, and elliptical projections, and atoms and vacuums, and whirlpools, and power and attraction and gravity, and peculiarities of light, and the northern lights,

and optical and acoustic matters and a myriad of the same kind and other monstrous things, so as to measure the sand of the sea, and the drops of a rainstorm and to move the earth if a place to stand is given to them, in the words of Archimedes. If as a consequence in speech they are barbarians, if they are ungrammatical in their writings, ignorant in the things of religion, degenerate and frenzied in morals, injurious to the state, obscure patriots and unworthy of their ancestral calling? [. . .]

Addressing ourselves to our beloved brethren in the spirit and local ecclesiastical leaders, to those truly excelling as teachers in the various *Ellinomouseia,* to the youth desirous of learning, to the guardians and boards of inspectors of the communities, and to all simple compatriots, the true and obedient children of our common mother, The Holy Church of Christ, we command paternally, and order and manifest synodically, with the Most Holy Prelates and Most Honourable around us, our beloved brethren and concelebrants in the Holy Spirit, that you hate the profane mouthings, the manifestly ungodly teachings, of the aforementioned and that you detest them, distinguishing them in the same way that you tell the tree by its fruit and the fire from afar by the smoke [. . .]

And the innovation introduced, as we have heard, of giving ancient Greek names to the baptised infants of the faithful, taken as a despising of the Christian practice of naming, is altogether inappropriate and unsuitable. Therefore it is necessary that Your Reverences give strong commands to the priests of your parishes, and spiritual admonitions to your blessed parishioners, to abandon forthwith this abuse [. . .] and parents and godparents in future are to name at the time of the holy and secret rebirth with the traditional Christian names, to which pious parents are accustomed, the [names] known in Church, and of the glorious saints that are celebrated by it, so as to be overseers and guardians of the baptised infants [. . .]

1819 During the month of March
The Patriarch of Constantinople Grigorios manifests

Ioannikios of Caesarea
Meletios of Heraclea
Athanasios of Nicomedia
Zakharias of Verroia
Methodios of Ankara
Ieremias of Vizyis
Konstantios of Maroneia
Kallinikos of Siphnos
Samouil of Durazzo
Dionysios of Ephesus
Konstantios of Cyzicus
Grigorios of Derkoi
Gerasimos of Crete
Theophanis of Sofia
Evgenios of Ankhialos
Anthimos of Skoplje
Dositheos of Debra
Nikiphoros of Proikonnisos

6:7 A SATIRE AGAINST FRANCOPHILIA: THE 'MORAL VERSIFICATION' OF ALEXANDROS KALPHOGLOU OF CONSTANTINOPLE (1794)

Ithiki stikhourgia tou perionymou stikhourgou Alexandrou Kalphoglou Vyzantiou pros ton en Voukourestio anepsion aftou, evretheisa en Konstantinoupolei epi etous 1797, ekdidotai eis koinin opheleian. Epistolai G. P. Kremou kai Ithiki Stikhourgia A. K. Vyzantiou (Leipzig, 1870) p. 57ff.

Every lying charlatan, particularly if he wears trousers,
Every day teaches them a good deal at table.
They love every foreigner, they receive him with joy
Unless he is a clown or mad, or a windbag
They love a Frank or German for his company
And an enlightened Frenchman, an impious libertine
[. . .]
If any of the notables learns five words of the law
There he becomes another Solon, a Lycurgus or a Phokas
[. . .]
Faith, the dogmas of religion or the catechism
Have not appeared anywhere to be taught in Wallachia
In conversation not a word about the commandments of God
Natural is the verbosity of that people.
All have teachers and common schools
And the young are taught the myths of Lucian
The mysteries of the Church, the knowledge of divine commands
They do not learn, they do not hear any good lesson.
The industrious, the young, the notable, the educated, the wise men
Do not go to Church, for they have got French illumination.
No-one hears the Holy Word from the pulpit
Both parents and children are ignorant of the Divine Word.
[. . .]
And they learn in ten years one or two Greek words
In another such time with a Frenchman five French words.
From the latter they learn still more the principles of religion
In harmful books, in damaging sources.
They say 'we have books and French romances
All other books are melancholy!
We are enlightened, the pupils of philosophers
And the old writers were all hypocrites!'
And in the City [Constantinople) many young men begin to be enlightened

From Frenchmen the liberty of atheism to be taught
And everywhere fugitive Frenchmen teach us Enlightenment,
The wisdom of their country has brought desolation.
The prayers and fasts of the Church and the rest
Every enlightened youth from now on does not love.
Teachers prattle, untutored parents say
'We have seen French, German and Russian nobles
Moreover we have seen learned Europeans and Frenchmen
The Greek teachers are all ignorant!'
[. . .]
If a Greek teacher is taught French
As a philosopher he proclaims that all is natural!
[. . .]
The Word of the Gospel and the canon is burdensome
To those enlightened by the French fire.
And their parents began gradually to be enlightened
And to eat meat in Lent, so as not to be taken ill.
[. . .]
The Romantic youths, enlightened notables
Neither faith in matters divine nor respect towards parents
(have they)
They have the dogmatic system of French ideas,
That to enjoy themselves freely is natural to the young,
Youths become fashionable and philosophers straightaway
They demonstrate that virtuous teachers are ignorant.
They boast of being the pupils of Mirabeau, Rousseau and Voltaire
Even if they do not understand them, neither have they ever read
them.
The French teachers with such pupils
Attract all the youth and make them imitators
They say 'I am enlightened, and I speak French
I myself will wear clothes in the European style'. [. . .]

6:8 THE PRETENSIONS OF THE NEW INTELLIGENTSIA: THE STRICTURES OF DR MIKHAIL PERDIKARIS (1817)

Mikhail Perdikaris, *Prodioikisis eis ton Ermilon i Dimokrithirakleiton Mikhailou tou Perdikari Iatrou; periekhousa tin Apologian tou Poiitou, tin Alligorian tou Poiimatos kai tin Eidisin dia tin atakton ekdosin tou Ermilou* ([Vienna], 1817) p. 64.

[. . .] Some guard with great respect and reverence their illustrious university doctorates in golden caskets, as if [these caskets] enshrined the

whole science of medicine. And if, perchance, they succeed in becoming doctors to some great nobleman, then they go completely crazy, and want to be known by all as great doctors, or as Your Most Distinguished Excellency! Others consider that they will not be recognised for the trained doctors they are unless they wear Frankish clothes, and take a great pride in going about in Greece dressed in the Frankish style. Some take no pleasure in the surnames of their own family, and take the name of some ancient, or philosopher or hero, thinking that, though without the virtue and learning of those of blessed memory, that with only their bare name, they are those themselves. So that one calls himself Empedocles, another Thrasyboulos, one calls himself Ass, another Blockhead. Others again, to demonstrate that they supposedly know some mock philosophy, they begin, the silly asses, as does that impious and abominable Kyritsis in Ioannina, to preach openly atheism and impiety to the many, to traduce the most high religion of the Christians, as a simple error, and to mock the divine and supernatural mysteries of our Holy Church. But O vain and wretched little excellencies, neither the views of theists or atheist philosophers, nor the pointless changes of name, nor Frankish clothes, nor golden caskets with doctorates, are needed to demonstrate that you are indeed doctors. Diagnoses are needed! Prognoses are needed! Cures are needed! and for all these a natural skill is needed, without which study and diligence and mock philosophy and changes of name and Frankish clothes and gold caskets with doctorates are as nothing [. . .]

6:9 GREEK CULTURAL EVANGELISM: THE 'INTRODUCTORY TEACHING' OF DANIIL OF MOSKHOPOLIS (1802)

Daniil Mikhali Adami Khatzi of Moskhopolis, *Eisagogiki Didaskalia. Periekhousa Lexikon tetraglosson ton tessaron koinon dialekton, itoi tis aplis Romaikis, tis en Moisia Vlakhikis, tis Voulgarikis, kai tis Alvanitikis. Syntetheisa men en arkhi kharin evmatheias ton philologon alloglosson neon* . . . ([? Constantinople] , 1802) Preface.

> Albanians, Wallachians, Bulgarians, speakers of other tongues, rejoice,
> And ready yourselves all to become Greeks.
> Abandoning your barbaric tongue, speech and customs,
> So that to your descendants they may appear as myths.
> Honour your nations, together with your motherlands,
> Making the Albanian and Bulgarian motherlands Greek.
> It is no longer difficult to learn Greek,
> And to avoid barbarisms with five or ten words.
> Take in your hands, and study it often,

This newly printed book wherever you go.
You will find whatever answers you need,
To learn the Greek language well.
It was most necessary to be published in print,
Your nations to be honoured with this, as I said.
Take great care, then, in its reading
Not burdened in cost with its acquisition.
Acquire ideas of different things
Making your minds prolific and fruitful.
All bringing renown to yourselves,
In the midst of other nations, and of your fellow countrymen.
Peoples that before spoke alien tongues, but devout in holy matters
Acquire the tongue and speech of the Greeks.
Greatly benefited in your professions,
And in all your commercial undertakings.
Rejoice young Bulgarians, Albanians and Wallachians,
Deacons, priests and monks.
Wake from the deep sleep of ignorance,
Learn the Greek language, the mother of wisdom.
The Wallachian Daniil, an honoured *oikonomos,*
Being legally a priest, produced the book.
The good shepherd and hierarch of Pelagonia
Published it, as a holy leader of the flock.
Wanting to teach the Greek language to all,
And to change the customs of the Bulgarians and Albanians,
Decorating your villages, and founding schools,
And exercising the children with Greek letters. [. . .]

6:10 POPULAR CULTURE: PROPHECIES CONCERNING LIBERATION THROUGH DIVINE INTERVENTION

(*a*) N. G. Politis, *Eklogai apo ta tragoudia tou Ellinikou Laou* (Athens, 1914) pp. 4–5.

The Taking of the City [Constantinople]

God rings out, the earth rings out, the celestial things ring out
Agia Sophia, the great monastery rings out
With four hundred *simantra* and sixty two bells
And every bell a priest, and every priest a deacon.
To the left chants the Emperor, to the right the Patriarch,
And from much chanting the columns shake.

As they were singing the Cherubic hymn, and the holy things were to be shown forth,
A voice came to them from heaven, and from the mouth of an archangel:
'Cease the Cherubic hymn and lower the holy things,
Priests take up the holy things, and put out the candles,
For it is the wish of God that the City fall to the Turks.
Only send word to *Frangia,* for three ships to come:
One to take the cross, the other the Gospel,
The third, and best, our holy altar,
Lest the dogs take it from us, and foul it.'
The Virgin trembled, the icons wept.
'Hush, Virgin Lady, do not weep too many tears,
Again with the passing of the years, in time, again they will be yours.'

(*b*) D. M. Sarros, 'Palaiographikos Eranos', *O en Konstantinoupolei Ellinikos Philologikos Syllogos,* XXXIII (1914) 83.

(Prophecies of the monk Dionysios of Phourna, appended to an eighteenth century diary)

1765 A fearful war throughout all the world.
1766 The laying waste of Constantinople.
1767 The sinking into the sea of England.
1768 All nations will know Christ.
1769 A man will appear who can work great miracles, and monsters and terrible things.
1770 A worldwide earthquake will take place.
1776 The sun, the moon and the stars will fall.
1772 The entire world will be annihilated through fire.
1773 The fearful Day of Judgement of the Second Coming of Christ.

(*c*) Rev. Robert Walsh, *A Residence at Constantinople, during a period including the commencement, progress, and termination of the Greek and Turkish Revolutions* (London, 1836) I, pp. 179–80.

It is certainly remarkable that the Greeks, in their aspirations for liberty, should fix their hopes for aid only on that nation in Europe which is the most hostile to the thing they seek, and which had so often betrayed them. This arises principally from the identity of their religious creeds; their hostility to the Latin Church is still as inveterate as in the latter days of the empire. They call themselves exclusively *khristianoi,* Christians, and exclude every other nation, except the Russians, from the appellation.

The Greeks, who now began to read the Scriptures among other books made accessible to them, applied its passages, as many have done, to suit their own particular views. They affirmed that 'the seven mountains' mentioned in the Apocalypse, and 'the many waters', are the seven hills and seas of Constantinople, and the person 'arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious stones', is the Sultan in his splendid oriental attire; and the saints with whose 'blood he was drunk' are the many martyrs of the Greek Church whom the Turks put to death. With these passages of Sacred Writ they combined their own apocryphal absurdities. Among the ancient prophecies recorded in the time of the Lower Empire, was one which stated that the Russians, as they interpreted the word Ros, 'should sack the city'. With this was associated another, which said that 'a race with yellow hair, along with their coadjutors, should overthrow Ishmael'. All this, and more, a monk of the sacred Mount, Athos, put together, and solemnly proclaimed that it was predicted in Holy Writ that the Greeks should soon be liberated by the aid of the Russians.

(*d*) Athanasios Komninos Ypsilantis, *Ekklisiastikon kai politikon ton eis dodeka vivlion . . . itoi Ta Meta tin Alosin (1453–1780)*, ed. G. Aphthonidou (Constantinople, 1870) p. 534.

Thus, then, the war ended and peace occurred between the Ottomans and the Muscovites, at a time and in the years when, according to the prophecies of so many astronomers and wise and holy men, the City [Constantinople] was to be taken by the Muscovites, and the Greeks were to be liberated from the Ottoman slavery and the Roman [Byzantine] Empire was to be resurrected. For the years in which it is written in the prophecies that the Empire of the Romans [Byzantines] is to be resurrected were the 320 years after the Fall [of Constantinople] and in these [years] occurred the six years of the wars,* during which they [the Russians] approached the City [Constantinople], threatened it, but did not take it. It is obvious that, on account of our sins, the Lord has abandoned us and that that which is assured by the prophecies did not take place at the appointed time. For He considered it better for the prophecies even of those holy people to be nullified rather than that those should rule who are in truth unworthy, not only as Kings but also of this life, on account undoubtedly of their unrepentant immorality in the time of the Empire, despite such hardships and sufferings of slavery, and on account of their incorrigible pride. The enslaved Jews would not have been liberated by the Lord if, sitting by the waters of Babylon, they had not wept, remembering Sion. If, therefore, in the time appointed by the

* The Russo-Turkish war of 1768–74.

prophecies, and after so many and splendid victories of the Muscovites against the Ottomans and if, at such an opportunity, the Romans [Greeks] were not liberated, then it will be very difficult for the resurrection of the Greek Empire to take place, for a prophecy in respect of this by some other seer does not survive. And not only will it be difficult, but virtually impossible, because of the persistence of our own immorality, discord, mutual rancour and frequently even fighting among ourselves.

(*e*) Extract of letter, dated 2 June 1821, from Francis Werry, the Levant Company's consul in Smyrna, to the Governors of the Levant Company in London. Reprinted from Richard Clogg, 'Smyrna in 1821: Documents from the Levant Company Archives in the Public Record Office', *Mikrasiatika Khronika,* XV (1972) 325–6.

[. . .] This day, the festival of the Greek St. Constantine, the founder of Constantinople, has cost the lives of 16 Greeks shot in the Bazar, so very fanatic are these deluded people. They yesterday openly congratulated each other (the lower orders) on the approach of the morrow, as the day appointed by heaven to liberate them from the Ottoman yoke and to restore their Race of Princes to the throne and possession of Constantinople. The Turks who entered on their fast of Ramazan yesterday heard this, and began their fast in the evening with human sacrifices and I fear much it will be followed up. May the Almighty avert what I have a presentiment will take place, a general massacre, if not before, at the end of the Ramazan, when the feast of Biram is celebrated. [. . .]

(*f*) *Apomnimonevmata politika tou Vahid Pasa, presveos en Parisiois to 1802, Reis efendi to 1808, kai topotiritou tis Khiou to 1822. Ex anekdotou Tourkikou idiokheirographou eleftheros metaphrasthenta kai simeiosesi synodefthenta ypo D.E.D.* (Ermoupolis, 1861) p. 52.

The aforementioned revolution of the Greeks of a.h. 1236 [1821] was at bottom wholly the result of satanical causes and diabolical designs, but on the surface had the pretext of restoring the religion of Jesus, which was, according to their groundless pretence, threatened. Persuaded and nurtured for long by certain very old and mythical prophecies of theirs, that is to say, that the time for the liberation of the Greek nation (*Yunan milleti*) and for its freedom had arrived, this was none other than drunkards (O the blasphemy of it) shamelessly roaming about and cheering.

7 Contemporary Critics of Greek Society

7:1 THE *ROSSANGLOGALLOS*: A SATIRE AGAINST GREEK ELITES

K. Th. Dimaras, 'To keimeno tou Rossanglogallou', *Ellinika*, XVII (1962) pp. 189–99.

Rossanglogallos

A Russian, an Englishman and a Frenchman, making the tour of Greece and perceiving her wretched situation, in order to learn the reason for this, asked first of all a Greek patriot, and after him a metropolitan, then a *hospodar* of Wallachia, then a merchant and then a notable. And last of all they met with Greece herself.

All:
Tell us, patriot, how you bear slavery,
And the inconsolable tyranny of the Turks?
How the beatings, the abuse and iron bondage,
The unheard of spoliation of children, maidens and women?
How the daily slaughter of your own kind,
Unjust, without cause and without mercy?
Are you not descendants of those Hellenes,
Free, wise and patriotic?
How is it that while they died for freedom,
You now submit to such a tyranny?
And what race was as enlightened as yours
In wisdom, strength and in all things renowned?
What have you made of enlightened Hellas!
Alas! as a skeleton, as a burned out candle!
Speak, beloved Greek, tell us the cause;
Do not hide anything from us, remove our doubt
The Patriot:
Russian, Englishman and Frenchman
Hellas, and none other,
Was, as you say, so great.

But now [she is] wretched,
And unworthy,
From the time that ignorance set in.

Those who could
Wake Hellas
Lead her into even worse straits.

She groans,
She calls her children,
She urges all of them to make progress

And [only] then she hopes,
That she is winning;
That which she now has inflames her.

But who would dare,
With genuine inclination
To move her towards freedom?

Whoever dares
To awaken her
Goes to Hades without any judgement.
All:
And how come you told us just now that those who can
Liberate Greece lead her badly,
And now you have suggested that no one dares,
And that whoever dares is lost, and all remain silent?
Who, then, are the former, those who can but do not liberate her,
And who are the latter, who do not even dare to mention it?
The Patriot:
No name will I mention
And no one will I blame;
And I cannot bear always to cry

Philanthropy,
Misanthropy,
To whom they belong, see first of all.

But judge
With great impartiality
To whom is due this blame.

Here is the divine
Priesthood
For it now has primacy.

Ask it,
Listen to it,
And straight away you will see the (truth)

And I suffer
From that priesthood
Even unto death.

And from others,
Great and small,
And bitter enemies of Hellas.

Wherefore start
Do not delay
And assure yourselves from the first.
Between themselves:
This patriot to us has spoken wisely.
Let us therefore ask the person whom he recommends.
Frenchman:
Here, let us ask this much bearded man.
He appears to be a bishop, he has the look of Demosthenes
From him we should be able to learn the temper of Greece,
Whether it be freedom loving or tyranny loving.
Hail, most reverend son of Greece,
How do you bear the yoke of tyranny of the Turks?
Why have you rendered enlightened Hellas
Wretched, miserable, like a burnt out candle?
Metropolitan:
Have my blessings, children
And listen to my reply.
I do not know of the yoke
Nor do I know how to think of it.
I eat and drink with pleasure,
I do not feel the tyranny.
I only feel uneasy
When they harm me in my diocese.
This tyranny of the Turk
For me is a blessed life.
Since I put on this gown,
I haven't encountered any yoke.
Two things I crave, yes indeed, by the [Holy] Icons
Lots of money, and nice girls.
Now as for Hellas, which you mention
It is of little concern to me if she has been tyrannised.
If she can bear it without groaning,
All her sins are washed away.
We always hear their confessions,
We give them spiritual counsel

To have faith in the ruler
And respect the primate,
Not to regret giving money to the Turk
For thus, their souls are benefited;
And with the sermons of the high priests
And the many masses of the priests.
The confessor prescribes
How each should take second place [to the Turk]
(But) they have begun to disobey,
And they all think of freedom.
That is why we agree with the Turks
And together beat them.
Because we all believe
That whatever we hold will be lost.
Christ, they tell us, desires freedom
But we have the power to bind and to loose.
A small diocese grieves me
I hope for another, and richer
I know *paşas* and *elçis*
And my hopes are assured
And girls are a great miracle
For they make everything easy.
Enough, then, of so much talking,
Here is the woman bringing enjoyment.
All together:
O misfortune of the Greeks, a nation led astray
What woes you suffer from the priests!
Russian:
What a good thing we did in Russia
We ordered them all to live apart.
Englishman:
And we have decided of the Pope each year
The effigy to burn without any qualms.
Frenchman:
And we have toppled the Pope from his very throne
And we have showed him up to the world to be a plaything and not Khronos.
Russian:
Here is one who comes and who knows him?
He wears a fur *kalpak* and has a slow gait
A Prince of Wallachia, he seems, certainly and I am not mistaken
He bears himself with pride and great arrogance.
Recently he became a *hospodar* and journeys to Wallachia

To fleece the people without mercy.
Englishman:
Let's go and ask him to see what he thinks
If he enjoys tyranny or loves his country.
All:
We salute you, *hospodar*, with due respect,
Best son of Hellas, and commonly of Eve as well.
We offer many congratulations on your new principality,
A life long and free throughout Greece,
Who sighs, weeps, has lost her breath,
And the many sufferings have ended her life.
She has raised up her hands to you the descendants,
As powerful enough, certainly, to end her woes.
We never thought that you would be neglectful
But with bravery you would revenge the enemies.
Prince:
Hail to you as well, O foreigners
Let your wish remain on one side.
With those things you are telling me,
You kindle a flame in my heart.
The freedom of Hellas
Implies poverty for me.
Then the present glory
Will be extinguished, bringing so many arrows.
As a slave I am glorified,
Beloved by the Turks:
On the contrary I must,
As faithful to the whole of Turkey,
Blot out Hellas
And make offering to the Turks.
Only then can I continue to live,
When I will fleece the Greeks,
Friends, freedom
Is sharing in common.
Rich, poor, indigent
Behave as a new Demosthenes;
In freedom they all have a say
The wise, the just rule.
But my own glory
Delights only my soul.
I have them all under my thumb
Every widow trembles before me.
But if the Turk judges us

And slaughters us as sheep,
The pleasures we have are enough,
We still love him.
We found our medicine
To avoid our death
When we fleece the Greeks
And pluck their money from them.
This money we present to the [Ottoman] Porte
And thus we ransom life.
We cultivate our own garden
While at the same time saving lives.
Earlier our ancestors
Were not enlightened in this way.
They lived in greater humiliation,
And more devoted to the Nation.
For this prize,
We have the clergy to thank
Who opened our eyes
And now we have golden furnishings.
Friends, please forgive me,
I'm going to the harem;
I saw a Bishop enter,
Who is the benefactor of the Princess
He certainly bears ornaments,
So as to be awarded a diocese.
Good health to you all
My Russian, English and French friends.
Among themselves:
There, we've asked this citizen, too
And found him just like the Metropolitan.
We must ask some other group
And we might get something different.
Here's this serious and very uneasy man
Truly the sorrow of the Turkish tyranny grips him.
He walks, wrapped up in his thoughts, and mutters to himself
Could he be counting one by one the misfortunes of his nation?
All:
Hail, Greek merchant and friend of the fatherland
Defender of freedom and foe of tyranny.
We see that you are uneasy and deeply sad
You feel perhaps the filthy yoke
You, of course, should never have been enslaved,
But you should live free like those before you.

To bask in virtue, wisdom and bravery
Like your forefathers, as well as in freedom.
But if by neglect and for many reasons,
You have fallen under the yoke of the Turkish tyranny.
You could again easily return to the original state
If you smashed the yoke and received enlightenment.
The Merchant:
And hail to you, friends and travellers,
I see that you are indeed devotees of the motherland
I had given no thought to Greece
For all that it suffers a tyrannical yoke;
But I continually await loaded ships
From the Barbary Coast and the country of the Franks [Frangia].
I haven't seen them for days, in order to put my mind at rest
This is what I am thinking about without being able to sleep.
I weep because my nation is under the yoke.
But for freedom I don't give a penny.
I spread them round to the Turks without caring,
To have his protection and to ward off my enemies.
I lend money to all those [from whom] I know
That I'll get it back with sufficient profit.
But when I know I will not increase its worth
Then I bury it deeply and say nothing about it.
And there are some again who spend much money
On the Nation and its schools, to awaken them.
But these are few, their money is not enough
To allow them to enjoy that which they love.
We, the greatest part of the merchants,
Always want money, even if we have the yoke.
Wealth delights us and consoles us,
And the burdens of the Turks never bother us.
Among themselves:
Finally we do not find any patriot
Everyone we have heard is a willing turcophil.
So in vain we nourish the hope that the Greeks
Will overthrow the tyranny of the Turk.
Let us approach near, to see as well what he says
That haughty man, who is waving his hand.
He seems very serious, wrapped up in cares.
These the Turks call *kocabaşıs.*
Hello, hail, notable, why are you upset
And who has done you wrong, so that you are sad?

Kocabaşı:
Ah, my compatriots are harrassing me
Accusing me of grabbing all their possessions,
I stayed for three years in office,
And I ruled over the province as I wished.
I showed to all that I am a benefactor
And no one dared to appear impudent
If I have taken by force a lot of their money,
I have given it to the Turks as an obligation.
I tyrannised over the poor harshly
But the Turks I greatly loved.
And every Greek who spoke against a Turk
I betrayed him, as a lesson to the others.
I was so faithful to the *devlet,*
Honouring Mohammed more than anyone.
I lived well, and I persecuted them all.
But another one, whom I hated
Who had contacts with *ağas* took my office from me
And I'm now trying to wipe out his family
I, too, have many contacts with *ağas,*
[Enough] even to wipe out all the *raya.*
I'll teach them who I am,
So that small and great, they will prostrate themselves before me.
Because publicly others say they want to cook me,
And others shout that it is better to put me on a spit.
This, friends, is my complaint
And that's why I turn to the Turks.
Frenchman:
Alas!, wretched Hellas, what were you to suffer!
From tyrants and enemies, o what has become of you!
Foreigners listen, groan and weep with you,
While your own children make your wounds worse!
Englishman:
Whoever examines her ever-admired works,
And now sees her, how is it possible not to crack.
She has enlightened us all with her writings
And we are ever imitating her ancient children.
Russian:
I much admire and am amazed by the first Hellenes
In wisdom, strength and in all their ways.
If we had not found their teachings
Alas! we would not have reached such happiness.

(*They leave, and on the road they encounter Hellas*)
Englishman:
Russian and Frenchman, do you see that woman?
I wonder what has happened to that unfortunate Greek?
Barefoot, uncombed and covered in wounds,
And all bathed with tears.
Let's come close and see what's up,
And each of us may help her as he will.
Frenchman:
Alas! what sorrow, what damage in this body!
Such wounds, such cuts, I have not seen before.
Her blood has become a terrible flood.
O wretched Greek girl, how did such a fate find you?
And who else would have endured such pain as you have,
And not have died immediately, but still have breath?
Russian:
Goodness me! Her breast beats and she is plucking out her hair,
And with these her tears she washes her wounds.
Look at her feet, they are in chains
And her breasts are all withered.
She seems to be an old woman, full of wisdom
And heroic in body and appearance.
But think, my friends, of the tyranny of the Turk,
How wretchedly has he torn to pieces this Greek woman?
Englishman:
Let us ask her, then, to tell us her woes.
Russian:
It is as well to learn how this happened.
Frenchman:
This, too, I want strongly
And I'm curious to learn.
All:
Hail, Greek woman, why are you wounded?
Shapeless, wretched, and so frightened?
Explain to us openly your many sufferings
And please reveal to us your name as well.
Hellas:
My name is Hellas, commonly Greece
Once brilliant and glorious, now totally wretched.
And you, strangers, who are you and how came you hither?
What is your country and your race and what brings you here?
Russian:
He is a Frenchman, I am a Russian, he is English,

I am from St Petersburg, he is from Paris.
We met a metropolitan and a *bey* of Wallachia,
A merchant and a *proestos*, a friend to tyranny.
Hellas:
Hard-hearted and devious nations, races full of deceit.
Don't give false excuses, because it pains me.
High priests and *beys* and tyrannical notables
You say that you found them all to be Mohammedans.
This should not have surprised you
For when have they ever loved human nature?
(*to the Russian*)
If you knew that these monks were good,
And many of the nobles, to be like them,
You would never have sent them to live in a monastery,
Nor would you have sent those nobles to Siberia as well.
(*to the Frenchman*)
But you, Frenchman, are you also surprised?
I think you're playing with me.
If you their glory
Had not destroyed with arrows,
And if the guillotine had not been erected
You would have been lost from hunger.
(*to the Englishman*)
If you think the Pope is good
Why do you burn him every year in effigy?
So you shouldn't be surprised that there are followers [of the same ideas]
Everyone knows this, and suffers inside.
(*to the three*)
My wounds and scars
Given to me by my children,
May perhaps have as a cause
That they came about through force.
And how can I forget
And not proclaim everywhere
That you are the cause
For which I suffer endlessly?
Do you see these wounds that I have on my head,
And the others I've got in my heart, the one next to the other?
I received them all from you without mercy
To me your benefactress you have been ungrateful.
The Russian had declared three wars against Turkey.
He gathered together my children from many homes,

Promising in writing to free them
But his purpose aimed at enslaving them ruthlessly,
It was not enough that so many Hellenes were slain with him
But he snuffed out many others quietly with his sword.
France, too, began
To preach freedom;
She arrived at my borders
And increased my sufferings,
She abused tyranny
But thirsted for money
Russia and England
Seeing her in Turkey,
Hastened to expel her
So that she should not free me.
The one hastens, paid,
The other arrogant
To save the Hagarenes
And to kill me.
Are you not the ones who received such great enlightenment
From the books of the wise, who were my first children?
And if you didn't have their teachings
You would still find yourselves slaves of ignorance
And again if you would deliver me from tyranny
Immediately the Muses will sing a new philosophy
And then you would learn much that you do not understand
From these children of mine that you now tyrannise.
But where is philanthropy?
You are lacking in friendship
Evil abounds
In word you claim
That you sympathise with me
But in deed you wish my extinction
O the inhumanity of it
And ingratitude
And your complete lack of feeling.

7:2 POLITICAL PAMPHLETEERING: *THE GREEK MONARCHY, OR A WORD ABOUT FREEDOM* (1806)

Elliniki Nomarkhia, itoi logos peri Eleftherias . . . Syntetheis te kai typois ekdotheis . . . pros opheleian ton Ellinon. Para Anonymou tou Ellinos (Italy, 1806).

The two reasons, O my dear Greeks, why until now we are bound by the chains of tyranny, are *the ignorant priesthood and the absence of the best*

fellow citizens. [. . .] [I want] to show that it is neither cowardice, nor thoughtlessness on the part of the Greeks, that still keeps us under the Ottoman tyranny, and [I want] to silence the envious and slanderous words of foreigners. [. . .]

[The Clergy]

O, how rapidly they will throw this book of mine into the fire, those who fear the light of truth! For this reason I judge it necessary to forewarn them, that my patriotic duty commands me to speak the truth, and I do not fear either the ignorant, or the important and virtuous. (They are certainly not few, those worthy of reverence and honours, such as for example, the most reverend and virtuous man, the most wise *oikonomos* of Ioannina Kosmas Balanos, the most wise and most learned teacher in Kerkyra, the priest Andreas, and many others.) The first because they are unworthy of fear, the second because the truth does not admit of censure. Rather, the important will confirm my words with their prudent ratification, and will try, as quickly as they can, to correct the fearful and harmful abuses of this ecclesiastical estate so that Greece may resume its original brilliance and good fortune.

For this reason, then, with tears I ask the wise and virtuous men, who wear the holy cloth, to forgive me, if with extreme boldness I decide strongly to reproach the unworthy and ignorant monks, and to prove with geometrical certainty how much harm they cause today to Greece.

Let them not consider me impious, if they hear that I despise the present monkish institution and conduct, but as zealots for the restoration and glory of our common homeland, Greece, let them consider whether it is easy for our race to regain its freedom, while its domestic enemy, ignorance, I say, superstition and the abuse of religion persist, or how much harm would a sudden resurrection and correction provoke in those who wrongly and shamelessly have violated ecclesiastical and moral law, if they are not corrected in time.

Oh, how much I feel the flame of indignation and shame in my heart now when I must speak so scornfully about the most honourable category of civil conduct! How it grieves me that, instead of praising this holy order, truth and patriotic duty force me to denounce it. Certainly my undertaking is great, but I have undertaken to make any sacrifice before the statue of Liberty, and I do not see anything more necessary.

O you vile Synod of Constantinople [. . .] in what, I say, do you resemble the holy and divine apostles of the word of the wisdom of Jesus Christ? Perhaps in the poverty and disinterestedness, which they preached? But you are stuffed with the money which you do daily steal from the wretched Christians. Perhaps in sobriety and in the curbing of desire? But in what great merriment are not to be found a part of your officials, and

who among them does not worship two or three noblewomen, with the greatest shamelessness and almost openly? (The present bishop of Ioannina is an adulterer and a sodomite, without the least shame.)

Perhaps you resemble them in their reverence towards religion? But who does not know your extreme irreverence and who does not know the ridiculing and mocking way in which you perform the liturgy? (I myself have many times seen an archbishop in the midst of the liturgy, curse, anathematise, and not a few times beat the priests, for the most part the deacons.) In what then do you resemble them? In philanthropy? You do deign neither to see, nor to help, the poor. Your frenzy for money is indescribable (I myself knew a monk who was so miserly that when some of his money was stolen, he died of his grief after a month). You resemble them perhaps in brotherhood, in harmony, in love towards one another? But who does not know how the one strives to harm the other (the death of an archbishop clearly illustrates the filthy character of the Synod. For then a hatred is born between them, each using such foul means as he can to acquire the bishopric, which is awarded to him who gives most money)? In what then do you resemble them? Truly in nothing. Oh your misfortune, you barbarous and stupid men. Christ would have to return to enlighten you, since you never think to open a book, to enlighten your darkened minds.

You then, O Synod, although you bear the titles of sanctity and the insignia of virtue, no, no, not at all do you resemble those, whom you try to teach. You are a den of wolves, which does not obey your shepherd and which gobbles up many innocent and gentle sheep of the Orthodox Church. [. . .]

Listen now, my beloved Hellenes, those of you who have been unaware of it until now, listen to the distressing account of the present state of the priestly caste of our common homeland, and see to what [state] tyranny can reduce mankind. [. . .]

Let us come now to the account of the Greek clergy, which will give us not a few examples of the evils occasioned by the abuse of money. In Constantinople, then, are the patriarch and the Synod; another patriarch is to be found in Alexandria, another in Antioch and another in Jerusalem. The first is called ecumenical and if this ridiculous title, together with the others which he assumes, does not signify anything else, it does at least show that the other three patriarchs are subject to him. He then shares out all the dioceses of the Ottoman state, and many times sends even there where no Christians are to be found, many hundreds of archbishops, of whom each has four or five bishoprics, to which he [the archbishop] in turn sends a similar number of bishops. This is the system of ecclesiastical government, the means of administration is as follows:

The Synod purchases the patriarchal throne from the Ottoman Grand

Vizir for a great amount of money, afterwards it sells this to whoever will give the greatest profit, and it nominates the purchaser as patriarch. The latter, then, to get back whatever he borrowed for the purchase of the throne, sells the dioceses, that is to say the archbishoprics, to whoever gives the greatest amount, and thus he appoints the archbishops, who in turn sell to others their bishoprics. The bishops then sell these to the Christians, that is to say they fleece the people, to get back whatever they expended. And this is the way in which the members of the different ecclesiastical ranks are chosen, that is to say gold.

The way in which they fulfil their promises to the people and to the ecclesiastical laws is as follows. The patriarch since he knows how to read two pages from the Psalms of David, is judged worthy of such an office by the Synod, which in turn knows how to read more than he does only the Acts of the Apostles. (May the reader sympathise with me for the exaggeration of my language, since all the present priests, excepting as I said before, a few, scarcely study a little grammar, and none knows the word 'science'.) He is not asked if he can write, since it is not necessary for him. Certainly his signature is written with such elaboration, which the archbishops and bishops and some *protosyngelloi* also imitate, that even if it is incorrectly spelt, as is very likely, no one will understand, and for this reason he keeps secretaries, diligent youths, and he has a *protosyngellos* and an *archimandrite,* who somewhat moderate the wildness of the ignorance of their master.

The first care of the patriarch, then, is to acquire the friendship of the friends of the Synod, who, for the most part, are the women of the leading notables, that is to say the ignorant rich of the Phanar. And he does this for two reasons. First, so as to be able to steal with greater boldness, second to steal for a longer period of time, since this Synod has all the influence with the Ottoman government and consequently when the patriarch does not please it, it immediately exiles him. And he does not always please them, when he is not of the same opinion as them, and when he does not sign, without reading, whatever letter they put before him.

The patriarch has a shadowy and false authority over the Synod, but none of them ever dare to exile any [member] of it, even if all that is right presses him to, since the rest then immediately exile him, and choose another who recalls their exiled colleague. For this reason many times it happens that they are patriarchs for eight, for six, for only two months. The pride and perverted soul of these twelve fools of the Synod prevents them from considering the damage which the great expenses incurred by frequent changes of patriarch cause to the people, and they remember nothing else than that, whatever they spend, they take back from the neophyte, and always with interest.

The reader can easily foresee what is the case with the archbishops,

when the leadership is such. But he should know, however, that these exceed in ignorance and evil deeds, both the Synod and the patriarch. For the Synod immediately gets back from the patriarch whatever it spent to get the patriarch of its choosing and the patriarch gets it back from the archbishops twofold or threefold. But since these take part of it [i.e. the money] from the bishops, these must take the rest from the Christians, and in this they imitate the Ottoman administrators of their archbishopric, from whom they do not differ save in that the arehbishops pay them, and the latter give them leave to rob as they please. [. . .]

How, I wonder, do these archbishops live in their archbishoprics and what are their virtues? They eat and sleep like pigs. (The present archbishop of Ioannina, as I have heard from an eye witness, eats two *okas* of yoghourt for breakfast, and half an *oka* of filleted sardines, which he eats with a spoon, in the afternoon.) They sleep for fourteen hours at night and two hours in the afternoon. They sing the liturgy two times a year, and when they are not eating, drinking and sleeping, then they plot the most shameful and worthless works, that anyone could imagine. [. . .]

They [the bishops] again are other wolves, perhaps worse than the first [the archbishops], for they lord it over the villagers and private individuals. [. . .] They send robbers [. . .] to the villagers of their bishopric, and give them the title of *protosyngellos* or *archimandrite* or other such rank, who know no more than how to write down, in bad spelling, the names of the Christians, and to pronounce 'May you be accursed', 'May you have my blessing' and 'Give me'.

These, then, tour all the villages of the bishopric, and with extreme lack of compassion fleece the many innocent villagers, and especially the women. When they do not find money, then they seize someone's clothes, or a farm implement, someone's wife's ornament, and sink even to taking cooking pots. Again from others they take so many *kiles* of wheat or so much wine. In a word they strip them, and afterwards bless them and leave [. . .]

The way in which he [the bishop] judges a villager to be worthy of the priesthood is as follows. First he asks for a hundred, or more or less, *grosia,* and he receives them, then he asks him if he knows letters, that is to say to write and to read. Afterwards he brings him the Psalter and the latter reads a page, and immediately he makes him a priest. [. . .]

These monasteries have in every town properties and houses, which they call *metokhia* and there these itinerant [sellers of relics] live. There they count the stolen money, secretly to take themselves half and the rest to go to the monasteries. [. . .] Their greatest concern is to hide their ignorance, and for this reason they always seek to talk with women.

O most sweet Jesus! O righteous Apostles! O philosophical Fathers [of the Church]! Where are you today, to see your descendants, and to weep with those who know the truth about their wretchedness? [. . .]

A hundred thousand, perhaps more, monks [. . .] live idle and feed on the sweat of the unfortunate and poor Greeks. So many hundred monasteries, which are to be found everywhere, are such wounds to the motherland, for without being in the least beneficial, they eat its produce, and harbour the wolves, [who] seize and tear to pieces the innocent and peaceful sheep of the flock of Christ. See, O Greeks, my beloved brethren, the present wretchedness and fearful state of the Greek priesthood, and the primary factor which delays the freedom of Greece.

These most ignorant people, when they hear the word freedom, it appears to them as a mortal sin. What, then do they teach the most simple people? What do you think the preachers say in Church? Perhaps they employ the parables of the Gospels to move their listeners to concord? Do they ever explain the first and great commandment 'Love thy neighbour as thy self [. . .] Do they ever mention the maxim 'Fight for faith and country'? Do they ever explain what is the motherland? Do they say how and when and who first must help it? Do they ever adduce the examples of Themistocles, of Aristeides, of Socrates, and of a myriad other virtuous and wise men? [. . .] Have they ever mentioned how the world is governed and what is the best government [. . .] And who will tell us such things, if they do not say them? [. . .]

[The Merchants]

Listen, then, those Greeks who find themselves outside our common motherland, and you her benefactors, to the naked truth. And do not hope for flatteries or false praise from my pen. For this reason, I ask you not to be impatient, but to understand your debt and to carry it out.

Greeks, return immediately to your homeland. Benefactors of Greece, leave at once for home. That is your obligation, see what you must do, here is what I promised to tell you. After I accurately counted the Greeks who are to be found in the different towns of Europe and Asia far from their motherland, and deducted a third for greater certainty in my calculation, I found them to number almost twenty thousand (Trieste, Odessa, Novgorod and other different cities are almost solely inhabited by Greeks). Of this twenty thousand, then, let us take the fifth part, or even the tenth, to be merchants, rich in money and useful ideas. That is to say take two thousand Greeks, diligent and undoubtedly worthy to undertake any business with a successful result and, in a word, defenders of the motherland. These men are not ignorant, they have been enlightened with the most necessary studies, and they could, with their presence, assist the restoration of our motherland.

Up till today they could, perhaps, justify themselves saying that 'we migrated to collect the light of knowledge, which we did not find in our motherland, we migrated so as to profit and benefit our race.' You have

done well until today, but what is the end of your objective? Do you not know perhaps that it is the end that decides a good or a bad undertaking? Why then now, when you have acquired the things you wanted, do you not return to your homeland? [. . .]

What do you think, my brother Greeks, of your compatriots, who are to be found far from Greece? Perhaps you think that they sympathise with you? Perhaps you think that they try to enlighten our race? Do you think, perhaps, that they do business with the object of sacrificing their gains for the salvation of their motherland. O how you are mistaken if you think thus!

Most of them neither remember you, or even ask if Greece still exists. Their motherland is some whore, their thought is sensual pleasure, their company consists of whatever else you can imagine, and they never think of the misfortunes of their motherland.

So little do they care for our motherland that most of them make every effort to imitate the bad morals of foreigners, so as no longer to be known as Greeks. And if there was a way to change motherlands, they would buy a foreign one with one of their eyes. O true enemies and worse than the very Ottoman tyrants of Greece! O shame on our race and mortal wound to the motherland! [. . .]

Immediately on gaining money and without changing ideas, they fall into the mire of dissoluteness and wallow until death like pigs. Immorality, which predominates among foreigners, straight away provides a broad road to their destruction, while they remain completely indifferent and shameless. Where is the motherland, where is Greece for them! [. . .] If any one of them understands a foreign language, then they read with pleasure the dramas of the theatres, or more precisely, meaningless poems, but they consider perhaps Plutarch and Xenophon to be Americans.

They run with all speed to the theatres, to hear the song of a woman, or of a man, or of some other eunuch, and they praise them, but whoever recounts to them the sufferings of the motherland is looked on as if he had beaten them, and they flee at once. They sit with the utmost impatience, and frequently without pleasure, to watch dances in the theatre, with the statues of depravity around them, but it is impossible for them to expend an hour in the reading of our country's history [. . .]

Many youths, especially, as soon as they have exchanged the garments of the motherland, decidedly want to appear as foreigners and do not want to associate on the street with their compatriots. What do you think they study, most of those whose unfortunate parents send them to the academies of Italy and France, and pay out money for their success? Perhaps politics, law, tactics, the necessary sciences for our nation? No, my brethren! They either study medicine or read mythological poems, of which there are more volumes in France and Italy than pumpkins in the Peloponnese.

Medicine teaches how to cure the body, but the Greeks have need of teachers of sciences. The mythological poems, with very few exceptions, do not teach anything else except how to dress, how to ornament themselves [. . .], how to speak, how to walk and how to eat. [. . .] These, when they have learnt to dance and to sing, have considered themselves the most perfect citizens. Greece may look for help, but these youths, however, try as far as they can to flatter, without resistance, some whore or, as they would put it, to acquire the friendship of some noble woman, and anything more does not concern them.

What can I say more about those who have nothing in view, save the acquisition of a great deal of money? They only worship wealth. For this they sell both honour and country. [. . .]

These gold worshippers and misers are indeed automata, their books of study are newspapers [. . .], and about the motherland they do not so much as mention its name. (The conversation of these gold worshippers begins with cotton and ends with beans, that of the young begins with the theatre and ends with women.) Who dares to mention freedom and the redemption of Greece, the young do not listen to you, the gold worshippers consider you mad. Their answer, when someone mentions it, is 'It is impossible! [. . .]

But what can I say about those who, to our misfortune, are not few, who to estrange themselves for ever from Greece and to forget even its name, have decided with extreme foolishness to take a foreign woman in a foreign land for a wife. O unbearable shame! [. . .]

But what, I wonder, prompts you to take a foreigner for a wife. Is Greece perhaps short of girls? Has Aphrodite, perhaps, fled from her first temple? What has so blinded you, so that the painted and most impudent faces of the most immoral foreigners [. . .] appear to you more beautiful? O shameful and goat-headed apostate from the motherland. Do you think, perhaps, that other foreigners praise you? [. . .]

They hate you, they despise you and mock you continually. Each of them says 'See that pig, that vulgar Greek, to lessen his worthlessness he wanted to take a wife of our race. But he always remains the same. He has not changed the barbarous mores of his country. [. . .] Do you think, you true unfortunate, that your wife truly loves you? Do not deceive yourself, I say it again! She scorns you, she dishonours you, she robs you and often prepares for you an untimely death. [. . .]

Should I perhaps despair? Should I perhaps consider all those abroad to be so unworthy of their name? Let it not be. I know you, my beloved. You are not few, who out of need, so as to win food for your families have migrated, and whatever you gain you send back to your motherland. You are not few who, when through your sweat and through your shrewdness, you have gained more, have avoided the filthy example of the misers and

have made lavish benefactions to Greece, consoling her with your philanthropic works.

All you patriots, then, and even those of you who until now have shown yourselves ungrateful to the motherland, listen, for love of her and for your own honour, listen carefully to her sweet voice. [. . .]

Do not think, then, once again I say, that you fulfil your debt to the motherland by sending some money to your compatriots [. . .] the Greeks have need of your presence [. . .]

Do you not know, then, that one piece of advice, frequently with one single word, pronounced by educated men, achieves more than ten written instructions? [. . .]

And who will carry out this useful work if you are absent? Who will speak at the assemblies, which today the *proestoi* are accustomed to summon in every town, most often in the bishop's palace, and who will correct such and such injustices that they make? Who, I say, will answer the metropolitan who, reclining on the veranda [?] and stroking his beard, pronounces some archiepiscopal absurdity, while the others with one voice say yes, if you are absent? [. . .]

The Greeks – you know it yourselves – are neither Scythians nor barbarians, who need many years to understand what they are. It is enough for someone to show them their duty, and straight away they will carry it out. But they have need of teachers, true philhellenes, of diligent men, above all, and you only are these. Perhaps, my brothers, you first await the liberation of Greece and afterwards you will go back? That is the same as saying that we do not want her to be liberated ever. [. . .] You wish, perhaps, to build a tower without foundations? And who will liberate the motherland for you, if you are absent? [. . .]

Perhaps, moreover, you wait for some foreign dynast to give us freedom? My God! Until when will we so thoughtlessly err? Why do we not turn our eyes for once to past events, to understand more easily future ones? Who does not know that the principal thought of foreign dynasts is to try to secure their own benefit at the cost of others? [. . .]

Do you not know, O Greeks, that virtue today is not to be found upon thrones? [. . .] Do you think, after all, that if Greece is freed from the Ottoman yoke by the hand of another dynast, she will become truly happy? [. . .]

Why, my brothers, do we want to change our overlord, when we, by our own efforts, can liberate ourselves? Do you consider that the yoke of a foreign dynast will be lighter? Do you not consider that once again it will be a yoke? [. . .]

Let us throw the Ottomans once and for all into Africa, O my Greeks, and afterwards you will see how little time Greece needs to acquire her original brilliance. [. . .]

[How Greece may be restored]

What, then, do these dirty and most crude men [the wealthy merchants and notables who are content with the status quo] say? 'How is it possible to conquer such a great kingdom [the Ottoman Empire]. We cannot govern ourselves on our own. Where can we find another Emperor so merciful and so good? What is this freedom? Freedom has not lasted, nor will it. How can we shed so much blood. The Ottomans, as soon as they realise that we have such an objective will behead us all, as so many sheep.' [. . .]

The Ottoman state find itself today in its death throes, and can be compared to a human body, gripped by apoplexy [which . . .] little by little weakens and finally dies. Such is the tyranny of the Ottomans today, that in regions other than the capital it is not recognised to exist. Take as an example Cezzar [Ahmed Paşa], the governor of Acre, who not only did not obey his Sultan, but resisted all his commands, and many times openly insulted him, and in letters continually mocked him. Take as an example Pasvanoğlu who declared war against his Sultan and always won. Take as a further example, the tyrant of Ioannina [Ali Paşa], who, although he does not manifest it, all know well enough that he is not afraid, and that he never obeys the commands of his Sultan. [. . .]

Let us now examine the causes that will easily contribute to the restoration of the Greeks. First, then, is the progress of our nation in learning. O how different education is in Greece from what it was ten years ago! It is great, my brothers, very great and every day is for the better. Now the Muses have started to recover and once again to be restored to the golden coloured mountains of Greece. Apollo once again has appeared in his ancient palace. There does not exist a town today that does not have two or three schools.

In most places the superstition of the grammarians has disappeared, and the young have begun to occupy the most valuable time of their life in beneficial knowledge, and not to squander it in memorising words. Logic and physics have opened the eyes of the majority, today's teachers do not follow that bothersome and slow method of instruction, neither do the pupils retain the sloth and carelessness that they once had. [. . .]

Today the learned, if they are not yet revered and honoured as they deserve, are not despised however, nor are they mocked. And each of the *proestoi,* instead of shutting up their son at home, and of leaving him ignorant, with every care send him to the schools to be enlightened.

I proclaim these things for the witness of all of you, O Greeks, and especially those of you who have sons. (Greece owes this benefit to those few patriots, who sacrificed a part of their property and built schools, paying not only the teachers, but those pupils who are poor. They have

enriched the schools with the most necessary books, both scientific and moral, which have been printed, with the necessary instruments of mathematics and physics, and in a word they have made provision for everything.) The schools are no longer deserted as they once were, but each of them has fifty or a hundred pupils, who since they have read the most sweet Xenophon, the judicious Plutarch and the other historians and philosophers of our ancestors, they have known the filth of tyranny and weep bitterly for the misfortune of our motherland. They do not pronounce any more the name of freedom with fear, lest the *proestoi* and priests hear it and pronounce them atheists, as they did earlier, but they pronounce it with that boldness that slaves cannot have [. . .]

The customs of the Greeks, in addition, are a further greater reason for the ease of her restoration. All Greeks, and particularly the peasants, have a special skill in weaponry. Almost every one of them has two or three weapons, and they are wonderful hunters. [. . .]

Glory be to freedom, we have one example, [of a revolution aimed at liberty], a great and recent one, which is enough to persuade you, without my having to copy out the historians. So marvellous is this example in its peculiarity, that the stupidity of those who are not persuaded by it, is the greater. It is, O Greeks, the Serbs who give us this great example.

They were the most simple people, and certainly one would have thought that freedom would shine in those parts later than elsewhere. However, their marvellous general and liberator George [Karadjordje] proved able to arouse all his fellow countrymen and, within the shortest space of six months, to liberate his motherland from the yoke of the Ottoman tyranny. How many lessons has the admirable George given, how many doubts has he dispersed for the behaviour of the Greeks. [. . .]

O Greeks, learn for ever that the weapons of justice are unconquerable, and that the Ottomans will flee from before the armed Greeks. Do not forget, moreover, I beg of you, the eternal example of the worthy Maniots. See how the Ottomans were never able to tame them, nor do they any more dare to approach their borders. Remember, finally, that the beginning of victory is resistance, and that the Greeks are neither savage nor of worthless spirit, as are their enemies, the Ottomans. [. . .]

Do not allow the promises of the agents and emissaries of foreign kingdoms to deceive you. They are such slaves, and to moderate their shame, they try to increase their number. They do not worship anything, except their king and gold. Do not think, my brothers, that any of them will sacrifice gold and soldiers, to expel the Ottomans and afterwards to leave us free! Better an earthquake or a flood wipe all us Greeks out, than to bow down any more to a foreign crown.

Why, O my dear Greeks, do we wait for another to lend us that which we ourselves have? A thousand times more blood would flow, if a foreign

sword entered Greece than if we were to free ourselves on our own. Do not let our lack of experience discourage you, but look on the Serbs. [. . .] You have seen the present sailors of our race; how, although unlettered, they travel with the greatest of ease in all seas, indeed by themselves they make the most beautiful and swift boats.

Do not think, then, that centuries are needed for the improvement of our race as it should be. No, O Greeks. To liberate and to improve are one and the same thing, and should follow at the same time. Do not fear the means, whatever they may be, look only to the worthy end. [. . .]

The tyranny of the Ottomans has so increased that this in itself foretells its destruction. Freedom has approached her ancient abode. The echo of the trumpet of Ares has awakened the heroes of our ancestors from their tombs. Behold Demosthenes on the one hand considers the tyrant of Epirus [Ali Paşa] as a second Philip [of Macedon]. Behold Lycurgos looks on the Souliots and Maniots as other Spartans. The great Leonidas hears the drums of victory and rejoices. Dionysios, the tyrant of Syracuse, himself sees, from afar, the tyrant of the Ottomans and foretells his end. The hour has approached O Greeks for the liberation of our motherland! [. . .]

I have demonstrated what is liberty [. . .] The few examples that I mentioned, from the innumerable number that history teaches us, have demonstrated the great achievements of which liberty is the cause. I have not omitted to mention the obligation which man has to defend his motherland and his freedom. Above all, my beloved, I have tried to demonstrate how easy is the restoration of Greece. [. . .]

Our character, our numbers, our customs, the senility of the tyranny, the number of helpers and the flight of ignorance, have constituted my irrefutable justification. Would, then, all of us move to meet her, and to be worthy to glorify the name of Greece, and, thrilling, to shout out in triumph: Long live the Freedom of the Greeks, world without end! Let it be! Let it be!

8 Emancipation through Education, Moral Regeneration and Great Power Mediation

8:1 ADAMANTIOS KORAIS' IMPRESSIONS OF PARIS IN 1788

Adamantios Korais to Dimitrios Lotos, the *protopsaltis* of Smyrna, Paris, 15 September 1788.

K. Th. Dimaras (ed.), *Adamantios Korais, Allilographia,* I (*1774–1798*) (Athens, 1964) pp. 100–1.

My dearest Protopsaltis,

[. . .] From the 24th May I have been in the illustrious city of Paris, the home of all the arts and sciences, the new Athens. Imagine a city bigger than Constantinople, with eight hundred thousand inhabitants, a large number of different academies and public libraries, every science and every art in perfection, a multitude of very learned men, scattered throughout the city, in the squares, in the thoroughfares, in the coffee shops, where you can pick up every kind of literary and political news, with newspapers and journals in German, English and French and, in a word, in every language. Imagine, I say, most of the streets and squares of the city as busy as the crossing of the three streets in Smyrna on a Sunday morning, when the two churches finish at the same time. Add to this the crowd of those on foot, another crowd of those in carriages running frenziedly here and there so that it is difficult to avoid the danger of being trampled upon. Such, my friend, is Paris. All this would amaze anyone, but for a Greek, who knows that two thousand years ago in Athens his ancestors achieved a similar (perhaps a higher) level of wisdom, this amazement must be mingled with melancholy, when he reflects that such virtues are not only absent from the Greece of today, but they have been replaced by a thousand evils. There, in a country where once the wisest laws of Solon (whose name I have many times heard the savants of this place pronounce with a kind of idolatry) reigned supreme, today ignorance, evil, violence, brutality, insolence and shamelessness hold sway. Instead of men of the calibre of Miltiades and Themistocles, whom Europe continues to look

upon with admiration, we are governed, alas, by whom? By riff-raff (*hamals*) and camel-drivers or by monkish barbarians, who are worse than the external tyrants for those, like wolves, can be guarded against, but who can escape those in the guise of sheep? I say again that when an unfortunate Greek sees things and reflects on those of the past, then, my friend, melancholy gives way to exasperation and desperation. [. . .]

8:2 THE DIDACT AS NATIONALIST: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ADAMANTIOS KORAIS (1748–1833)

MSS. Vivliothiki Korai, Chios: 493.

Completed Paris 23 December 1829.

> 'For it is not so pleasant for others to hear of your adventures as it is for you to recall your own dangers' – Epictetus, *Encheiridion*, XXXIII/14

One of my Chiot friends and compatriots, a worthy young man (Efstratios Rallis, if my memory does not mislead me), finding himself in Paris once asked me if I had taken care to write my life. The question appeared strange to me; it is probable that he, too, considered my answer strange.

Whoever writes the story of his own life is under an obligation to note both the achievements and the sins of his life, with such accuracy, as not to exaggerate the first, nor to underplay the second, nor to be silent about anything; something that is most difficult, given the pride that is rooted in us all. Whoever doubts this, let him make the experiment of drafting two lines only of his biography, and he will understand the difficulty.

I do not have achievements in my life worthy of mention; my sins I would gladly print, if I thought that their publication would correct any one. I write therefore simply of certain events in my life; and this for no other reason (I testify to the divine truth) than to correct some mistakes of those, who, while I am still alive wished to write my biography (I do not know for what reason).

I was born on 27 April of the year 1748 in Smyrna, the first child of Ioannis Korais, a Chiot by origin, and Thomaida Rysia, a Smyrniot. Of their eight children, there survived myself and my brother Andreas, three years younger. My father was not fortunate enough to receive an education, not only because the entire nation at that time was uneducated (with the exception of a few decked out with a pseudo-education rather than a true education), but also because he had been left an orphan at a very tender age. My mother received a more liberal upbringing, because she was fortunate in having for a father Adamantios Rysios, the most learned in Greek literature of his time, who died one year (1747) before my birth.

He while still a young man was employed as a teacher of Greek literature in Chios;* after this he came to Smyrna, where he married a widow. Angkyrais. Not having a male son, he sought consolation for his failure by trying to bring up as sons his four daughters, Thomaida, my mother, and her three sisters, Anastasia, Theodora and Evdokia. Such was the state of the nation, that in the large city of Smyrna virtually only the daughters of Rysios knew how to read and write; besides reading and writing they were taught (but very little however) ancient Greek. Theodora, more learned than the others died, unmarried, from the plague. My mother had a competent knowledge of the writings of the Greeks in their decline. My mother's education would not have been sufficient to educate me and my brother, if other circumstances had not intervened as follows.

My father, although deprived of education, was endowed by nature with a very acute mind, and many other gifts of nature; so that he understood, that only education perfects the gifts of nature, and he was fired with the love of education. Unable, however, to acquire this at school, he filled the gap, frequenting any learned man that he found, so as to slake his thirst by listening to ancient Greek wisdom. Besides his natural acuteness, he also had the gift of speech, as was shown by his subsequent political behaviour in the administration of the community, as much as tyrants permitted to those whom they tyrannise. His whole life was given over to care of the community, to the detriment of his own substance. Eight or ten times he was elected a *dimogeron*. There was not a year in which he was not either a *dimogeron*, a church warden or on the committee of the hospital, or master of the corporation of Chiot merchants. In addition to these concerns, those who had commercial or family disputes, or other differences of whatever kind, turned to my father with his experience as the only person able to solve them, and to calm the parties to the dispute with his inborn rhetoric. For these qualities my maternal grandfather had chosen him as his son-in-law, neglecting many bridegrooms richer in both fortune ane esteem than my father, seeking to be related to him.

A consequence of my father's burning love for education was to care for the education of his children. If my grandfather had still been alive, he would unhesitatingly have entrusted their care to him. But his death obliged him to send us to the Greek school then recently established by a Chiot, Pantaleon Sevastopolos, and whose teacher then was a certain monk from Ithaca. The teacher and the school resembled all the other teachers

* In the anonymous work printed in Venice (1824) entitled *Konstantinias palaia te kai nea*, I find (p. 113) that Adamantios (Adamas) was employed as a teacher in Constantinople as well. This was probably before his service as a teacher in Chios.

and schools of Greece at that time, that is to say, they provided very poor teaching, accompanied by frequent beating. So much were we beaten that my brother, not being able to stand any more, abandoned Greek education against the will of his parents.

Two reasons strengthened my own resolution; love of education and love of honour. The love of education was no less strong than what is generally known as love. The love of honour was nourished and increased first by the fame of the wisdom and virtue of my grandfather, Adamantios Rysios, then [by the fame] of relatives in times not so long past, the doctor and *littérateur* Antonios Korais,* and thirdly [by the fame] of the monk Kyrillos, a nephew of my father (on my mother's side), then still living. I would keep quiet about another reason for my resolution, cupidity, if it was not to the honour of my grandfather, and an example as to how parents should encourage their children and descendants to acquire virtue.

As I have said my grandfather, very disappointed not to have male children, tried to communicate part of his wisdom to his daughters. After he had married them off with a dowry, each with a house built from the foundations, he impatiently awaited male children from them, with the sole desire of giving them a Greek [classical] education.

Seeing, however, approaching death, of which the precursor was blindness, and fearing the failure of his desire he wrote his will. By the first clause he made the heir to his books the first of his future male descendants to leave the Greek school, taught as far as the teacher of the school was able. My cousins, who were rivals and school mates, showed no less enthusiasm to inherit the books. Fate, however, drew me first from school, and made me the heir to my grandfather's library.

My grandfather's books were not many; they were however enough to make me aware how mean was the education I had acquired with so many beatings, and how ridiculous was my arrogance, generated by the then usual and common title, *Most Learned* and *Most Wise,* given to all without exception who knew the declension of nouns and the conjugation of verbs. I was appalled when I understood how many aids I lacked, for an informed understanding of the Greek authors and I was exasperated when I considered how much time I had wasted in the acquisition of so little knowledge, the knowledge of so few words. The only consolation I found to be my still youthful age, which allowed me to rebuild somewhat the shaky edifice of my learning. But in the city, even the large city which Smyrna then was, the means of such a rebuilding were absent; and this

*Whose *Odin eis ton Dagessea* (Ode to D'Aguesseau) I published in the year 1819, Antonios composed this in the year 1702, while studying in Paris.

strengthened the hatred against the Turks that had been nourished in my soul since birth, as the cause of such a deficiency, and the desire to quit my motherland, which I regarded more as a stepmother than a mother. Such a desire grew daily and burned in me particularly from the reading of the speeches of Demosthenes, until my health was injured. After my thirteenth year I began to spit blood, and I spat it incessantly until my twentieth year. From that time I did not cease spitting blood, but at long intervals, however, until my sixtieth year. For all this neither my unhealthy condition, nor the fear of worsening it, stood in the way of my thirst for knowledge.

I only just found someone to teach me the Italian language and found greater difficulty in finding a teacher of French. The Italian language was the only one then taught to a few youths, more for commercial needs than with the object of increasing their knowledge; and for French I was almost the first to seek a teacher, helped by the willing provision of my father. But the teachers of Italian and of French differed from the teacher of Greek I had rid myself of only in that they taught me without beatings.

And I studied these two languages, not so much for their own worth, for neither did I have, nor was it easy to borrow, Italian or French books, but as a preparation for the knowledge of Latin. The Latin footnotes of many Greek books, and particularly the notes of Casaubon instilled in my soul the desire for this language. By chance among my grandfather's books was the 1707 Amsterdam reprint of Casaubon's edition of Strabo. I say by good fortune because such editions in Smyrna were unheard of at that time. This good edition of Strabo was not to be found in the school where I studied, and probably was not known of at all by my teacher. My grandfather had acquired it, along with good editions of other writings, because he traded particularly with Holland, where he took care to bring from Amsterdam, from time to time, Greek books for his own use. Every time I opened the Strabo, I was tormented by the mere sight of the long notes of Casaubon, from which I hoped to understand the text, for I had little help to expect from what I had been taught in the Greek school.

In order to acquire a knowledge of Latin I had to approach Western priests established in Smyrna, and particularly the Jesuits; a difficult thing, on account of the prejudice against them, nourished indeed by their proselytising mania, a passion so strong that the Jesuitical enemies of Christ considered and still consider today, the return of a Greek to their church, a much more rewarding work than to catechise ten Turks, or ten heathen. The matter would have been much more difficult, had my grandfather still been alive. How could he hand me over to the hands of Jesuits, that same Adamantios Rysios, who had composed an entire poem in iambic verses against the abuses of Popery, entitled *Latinon thriskeias elengkhos* [Censure of the Latin faith] in thirty-six chapters, which he had

printed in Amsterdam* to distribute free to his fellow countrymen as a prophylatic medicine against papal mania.

What I, going around, sought so earnestly, luck unexpectedly offered me. And this time I consider I remember with gratitude as the happiest part of my life because I found a teacher capable not only of teaching me the Latin tongue, but of curbing the undisciplined passions of my tempestuous youth.

A wise man, worthy of respect and respected, Bernhard Keun was at that time minister in the chapel of the Dutch consul. As I had heard that he sought a Greek learned in the Greek language, to perfect the knowledge he had of it, I offered through a friend my teaching to a pupil, who knew the language perhaps more completely than me, and only wanted the teaching of the present-day pronunciation. The worthy Bernhard, thinking that I wanted monetary payment for my teaching and being ready to pay it, when he heard that I sought nothing more than to be taught in return the Latin language, accepted with pleasure, more from a philanthropic desire to benefit a young man anxious to be taught than from necessity which would cease after a few weeks. Indeed only a few weeks were necessary for him to pronounce the language as I pronounced it; and from then on, on the pretext of need he kept me for a longer time, as long as I stayed in Smyrna before my departure. His goodwill towards me grew so that he invited me to accompany him in his walks after meals, so as continually to teach me through living voice that which he considered useful for my welfare, to lend me famous Latin authors, and finally to leave me alone in his library, whenever he was obliged to stay outside his home.

I forgot to relate that, before I knew this worthy teacher, I longed to learn the Arabic tongue. I omit the reason for this desire, fearful lest it appears that I am writing a novel. But of necessity I had to take a Turkish teacher; and this was impossible for me, since the mere word Turk, induced in me queer spasms. I learnt that the language of the Arabs had a close relation to Hebrew, so that I decided to find, and found, a Jewish teachér. But what a teacher! These poor people suffered as we ourselves suffered. As, losing our ancestral tongue, we were reduced to what is considered and called good grammar of the language, in the same way they too boasted of their good Hebrew. For all this I studied the Hebrew language as a preparation for Arabic, with the hope that some time I might find a non-Turkish teacher. The need to pay the Jewish teacher naturally

* The year of printing was 1748. Dying in 1747 he did not manage to see it in print, and this fortunately as he did not see such a mass of printing errors, as a result of which many parts of the poem became incomprehensible. I took care to bring a copy from Smyrna to offer it to the Bibliothèque Royale, to which I donated it in 1829.

obliged me to turn to my father. At that period (1764) and in that condition of the nation, any other father among the inhabitants of the city, without exception, hearing that his son sought a teacher of Hebrew would have called a doctor thinking that his son had gone out of his mind. But my worthy and sensible father needed only to ask me what use the Hebrew tongue was. When I told him that it was useful to the more accurate comprehension of the Old Testament, Good, begin then, he replied. I can never recall this laconic answer without weeping. Such was his zeal for my education, of which this too is an example. Many times, as is usual with the young, I wanted new holiday clothes for religious holidays and he put me off from Christmas to Easter, and from Easter to Christmas. But he never put me off seeking a teacher, or a book or any other means of education.

Such was the ignorance of my Hebrew teacher, I would have broken off from the study of the language if I had not found in the library of my good and solicitous teacher and father, Bernard, aids to this, as to the Latin and even Greek languages. But this excited my longing, which I had long had, to see Europe. For I saw that the Europeans, being neither Hellenes nor Romans, had aids to Greek and Roman culture, and not being Jews, had both grammars and dictionaries of the Hebrew tongue, which were unknown to Jews. Naturally I had to conclude that the enlightenment of Greece and Rome, and indeed of the Holy Land, had sought refuge too in present-day Europe.

My father sold silk stuffs, trading in the *bezesten* of Smyrna, where there were other Chiots, and not in Chios as my biographer says,* whence he had departed as a child, without ever again returning. He wished to extend his trade overseas to Holland, after the example of his father-in-law and my grandfather; but he wished to have there a relative, and not to trade through Dutchmen, as my grandfather did. After many obstacles on the part of my mother, it was decided that I should go to Amsterdam. My mother considered the sea voyage little different from my death. For my part I detested the commercial life, as a great obstacle to enjoying my desired education. For all this I judged the journey to be a great stroke of good fortune, through the hope that the practice of commerce would allow me sufficient time to quarry as much learning as was possible, if not as much as I thirsted for.

I embarked therefore in 1772 in a Danish ship, and after twenty-six days at sea, landed at Livorno, and after a few days went from there to Amsterdam, accompanied by many introductory letters. One only of these benefited me, the letter of my friend and teacher (Bernhard Keun), to another minister friend of his called Adrien Buurt, the wisest, the most

* Biogr. nouvel. des contempor. tom. V, pag. 52.

reverend and the most respected among the ministers then to be found there.

This socratic teacher received me as his son, and after he had examined my slight knowledge, asked me, if my commercial concerns would allow me to go twice a week to him, to be taught such things as he thought necessary to correct thinking with which, as he said, correct education should begin. I accepted, I do not say with joy but with enthusiasm, this unexpected fatherly invitation, and I was taught by him the elements of Euclid, and the science of logic. This I studied in a book of logic compiled by that learned wife of his Iosina Carolina Van Lynden, a work altogether different* from that logic which I had been taught in the School of Smyrna.

This learned man and his learned wife were without children; they were happy, however, because both worked together for the happiness of their own citizens. Besides their rich library they also had a natural history collection and the two days a week given to me, the foreigner, were also devoted to the sons and daughters of many important citizens. The daughters came to hear Carolina's teaching, and the sons were taught by her husband, Adrien.

To these two revered persons and to my earlier friend and teacher, Bernhard, I owe not only my virtue, but also definitely the bridling of my passions. My youth was stirred by a storm of passions, and nothing saved me from shipwreck but decency towards my teachers, and the ambition to be worthy of their affection. I judge the same to have been true of the youth of my father; it is probable that he, too, would not have been saved, if he did not have the ambition to be worthy of the affection of Adamantios Rysios. It is a necessary lesson for parents who care for the salvation of their own children, to entrust them to such teachers not only whose learning they admire, but also that they thirst for [their teacher's] affection and tremble at their disdain.

I passed six years in Amsterdam, given over to trade, and as far as my concern with trade permitted, to education, incessantly disturbed by the fierce appetite never to return to my tyrannised motherland. The hatred against the Turk nourished in my soul since childhood, became when I had tasted the freedom of a state of law and order, an obsessive aversion. Turk and wild beast were to my thinking synonyms, and they remain so, even if

* I still have in my library this logic (written in the Dutch language) a valuable gift of the respected Carolina. I also have some works of her husband, also in the Dutch language. My first teacher Bernhard Keun translated one of these into French, with the title *Abrégé de la Théologie dogmatique*, printed in Amsterdam 1779. This too, is preserved in my library.

in the dictionary of the Christ-hating friends of the tyrant they mean different things.

Despite this I was obliged to return, and I travelled via Vienna (through which I had first travelled on my way to Amsterdam) to see for a second time my uncle (my father's brother) Sophronios, Archbishop of Belgrade, who persecuted by the *paşa* there, had fled to the protection of Maria Theresa, the Empress of Austria.

After a stay of forty days in Vienna, I passed to Trieste, and from there to Venice, where I spent almost all the winter of 1778, living with the hope that I would receive from my parents the permission I sought to go to France to study medicine. My aim was not to become a doctor. I had only two objectives, to put off seeing Turks, or if in the end I had to set eyes on them, to live among them as a doctor, since that savage nation is obliged to dissemble some respect only to doctors.

I arrived at Smyrna a few days after the fire, which swept away a great part of the city, already shaken by an earthquake. Common misfortunes, united with particular ones (since the family house was also burnt down) transformed my abhorrence of living together with Turks, into such a melancholy, that I was in danger of falling into genuine madness. And here the word madness is no mere rhetorical exaggeration. Even today, remembering my mental confusion at that time, I am sure that I would inevitably have gone mad, without the daily consolations of my friend and teacher Bernhard. Almost only with the latter did I associate during a four-year stay, while I still remained in Smyrna; and the rest of the time I fled a few leagues beyond the city to the country, so as not to look upon Turks. My parents still nourished the hope of keeping me in the motherland, and employed a number of means, including the snare of marriage, to change my mind. This bait would certainly have carried me away, both on account of my youthful age and on account of the beauty, and moreover the wealth, of the bride, the orphan of a very rich father, if the love of liberty had not pressed me to disdain every other kind of love. My parents realising that not even this would soften me, and the great danger of my daily impaired health, finally allowed me to go to France.

For the sake of brevity, I again travelled to Livorno, then to Marseilles and finally arrived at Montpellier, the 9 October 1782, and not 1787.* I spent here six, and not eight† years studying medicine, as far as a body weakened with past sorrows, and continually weakened by the daily pains of study and from the continually gnawing thought that eventually I would have to return to a homeland tyrannised by the Turks, allowed.

*Biograph. nouvel. des contempor. tom. V, pag. 52.
† Ibid., pag. 53.

In Montpellier I learnt the sad news that my father had died on the 20 July 1783, and my mother followed him after one year. Eternal be their memory. Such parents I wish on all young people.

Here I must correct again another error of my biographer. He says that my period of study in Montpellier was made possible with a yearly grant from Bernhard of 2000 francs.* My good friend and teacher would gladly have acted to help me had his financial position allowed such a grant. But neither he nor my relatives failed to supplement with periodic gifts the financial help derived from my parents while they lived, and after their deaths, from the sale of the rebuilt paternal home, and from my own efforts. One of the latter was the translation from the German to the French of the Catechism of the Russian Platon, of the *Médicine clinique* of Selle, which I published during the year 1787 while at Montpellier, and translations of certain other medical treatises from the German and the English into French, and later published in Paris.

When I had finished my studies, I wished to acquaint myself with the new Athens, Paris, to avoid the disgrace of those who in the past did not know the old. I came therefore to Paris the 24 May 1788, accompanied by introductory letters of my professors, whose goodwill, and especially that of Broussonet, Grimaud and Chaptal, towards me, was one of the strokes of good fortune in my life.

But I came at a time when Paris was soon to see in the midst of this century the first political change in history, pregnant and paradoxical, of a nation from which such a change was never expected. The French, until this time, were like the Athenians in wisdom, in cultivation, philanthropy, amiability. They were also judged to be as frivolous as the Athenians, and worthy of those about whose foibles the comic Aristophanes wrote. The change indicated that in a seemingly mild nation there was hidden a large number of thinking men, who were unexpectedly revealed by the abuse of the then absolute monarchy and were established as legislators for a new state.

My doubts hitherto about not returning to my homeland, which the death of my parents had lessened, were completely dissolved by the political change in France, and I decided definitely not to live together with tyrants from then on. And this increased the desire I had long had to work to the best of my ability for the education of my fellow countrymen, and particularly since I had learned that the increase and spread of education in the French nation gave birth to the love of liberty. The only means of such work I found to be editions of Greek authors with lengthy prologues written in the common dialect, so that they could be read not only by students of the ancient language, but also by the

*Ibid.

uneducated. Such an undertaking, however, demanded a deeper knowledge of the Greek language, for the critical editing of the text of the authors. I gave all my attention to the acquisition of such knowledge, putting on one side the profession of medicine and every other preoccupation.

The later disturbances by the demagogues of France, completely different from the leaders of the change, necessarily gave birth to an even more terrible demagogue, to quieten the disturbances, and they gave birth to him. This was the famous Napoleon. Adorned with governmental and military virtues superior to any vouchsafed by history, and created by nature to instil fear in troublemakers, and respect in those desirous of quiet, in this only was he mistaken, in that he did not realise what fruits mankind expected from such qualities. Instead of freeing the suffering peoples of Europe from their tyrants, he preferred to become himself tyrant of tyrants. Instead of spreading prosperity throughout Europe, and of establishing himself as a god upon earth, blessed by immortal hymns of the present and of countless future generations, he preferred the base adulation of base flatterers. The unfortunate man was led astray!

This man, who achieved great things although he himself was not great, becoming Consul (a Consulate which was to destroy him and the many and great benefits hoped for from him) wanted a translation of Strabo's Geography. My former chemistry teacher at Montpellier, Chaptal, then an official of the Consulate, suggested as translators of the text La Porte-du-Theil and me, and thirdly the geographer Gosselin for the geographical observations, giving each of us a yearly payment of 3000 francs, and not a yearly pension* which he was to grant later.

In 1805 we offered to Napoleon (no longer Consul but Emperor) the first printed volume of the translation of Strabo. Before offering the second, besides the yearly payment of 3000 francs, he gave each of us a further 2000 francs, a pension for life. When we received the unexpected announcement of a pension for life, I was suspicious (I do not know why) of the generous gifts of Napoleon, and, fearful lest they might oblige me to be more grateful than was proper, I wished to free myself of this benefaction. Not being able to do this alone, I suggested to my fellow countrymen, that since the translation of Strabo was going to be a lengthy task, it was in our interest to forfeit either the payment or the pension. My collaborators accepted this without objection. We wrote therefore to the then responsible official, relinquishing the yearly payment of 3000 francs, and contenting ourselves with the life pension of 2000 francs. The reply of the functionary was an encomium of our disinteredness, as he described the stopping of the yearly payment. If I had before seen such evils that were to be caused to Greece, by the impiously named Holy Alliance,

*Ibid.

gathered together with the objective of preventing the liberation of the peoples, I would certainly have preferred my country to have been ruled today with the sceptre of a Napoleon, who had chased the Turks out of Greece, than with the iron rod of many absolute despots, of whom not one is worth Napoleon.

One of the many [officials] during the reign of the unfortunate Napoleon suggested to the late Clavier and me to become censors with a lavish annual reward, he for Latin, me for classical or modern Greek works. With horror, my friend rejected the proposal, and so that I should be not less horrified, he made me realise that whoever hoped for such a work from us, probably would consider us capable of carrying out other more dishonourable things for money.

But I leave this Hero (the more unfortunate because he separated his own from the common interest than because he was destroyed by incomparably more inferior tyrants) and continue the story of the rest of my life.

Here I must recount one of the strokes of good fortune of my life, which I would have kept quiet about if my friends would not judge me to be proud, those who are not my friends perhaps as unworthy.

I abominate pride, again I detest being thought unworthy. Some have wondered why I never sought to be elected a member of the university. This is what happened. Whoever wants to be elected a member of the university, must first seek by letter from the rector to be enrolled in the catalogue of candidates. Secondly he must personally visit before the vote each one of the electors, and humbly beg him to cast his vote in your favour. Only the first I knew about, and the first I carried out, if not as a necessary obligation, but as an impeccable custom, and I was enrolled as a candidate.

The same year (1805) as the publication of the French Strabo I published at the expense of the Zosimas brothers the *Prodromos* (Forerunner) of the Greek Library with lengthy prologues, entitled *Impromptu Thoughts (Aftoskhedioi Stokhasmoi).* Their circulation in Greece, and the goodwill of the nation towards me created by them, taught me that the nation had begun to feel the need for education, and increased the hopes which I had manifested five years before of its impending liberation.* In only this was I mistaken, that the revolution against the tyrants, which by my calculation would take place about the middle of the present century, took place thirty years earlier. That it occurred before time, was proved by the recklessness of the leaders of the revolution (either on their own initiative, or moved by Russia) and by the

* See the end of the *prologomena* of the edition of 1800 of Hippocrates' *On Airs, Waters and Places.*

from then until now very foolish conduct of many politicians in Greece, conduct which gave rise to the flowing of so much innocent blood, and would have wiped the very name of Greece from the face of the earth, if those enlisted against the tyrant, both on land and sea, did not have achievements worthy of Marathon and Salamis. If the race had rulers adorned with education (as it certainly would have had them if the revolution had occurred thirty years later) then the revolution would have taken place with greater foresight, and foreigners would have been inspired with such respect that the wrongs suffered from the anti-Christian Holy Alliance would have been avoided.

My editions did not fail, however, to give rise to enemies, a few scholastics, together with a few of the priestly order, who fought against me fiercely, as an innovator, not only in cultural matters but in religion. I now regret that I fought against them, I would have acted more intelligently if I had followed the wise advice of Epictetus 'So it seemed right to him'. Before someone undertakes to advise correction of erroneous works he should foresee the inevitable war from those whose honour and happiness depends on, and is nourished by, the errors, and instead of hoping for an impossible thing, peace, from them, he should continue his work calmly, satisfied with the goodwill of those who will benefit from it.

Before I began the Greek Library, I published in 1799 the *Characters* of Theophrastus in ancient Greek and French with an introduction and notes in French, Hippocrates' *On Airs, Waters and Places* (1800),* the War Song (1801), the first edition (1802) of the translation of Beccaria,† the Report on the present state of civilisation in Greece (1803)‡ which I first read to the *Société des Observateurs de l'Homme,* and Heliodorus' *Aithiopika*, with notes in ancient Greek and an introduction in the current language of the Greeks (1804). After Heliodorus I began (in the year 1805) the above mentioned *Elliniki Vivliothiki.* I continued this uninterruptedly until the beginning of the political change of the Greeks,§ with such pleasure to its readers that some of my fellow countrymen judged it useful to collect and publish as a separate volume the *Prologomena* or *Impromptu Thoughts* to each author.

The premature rather than unexpected political change of the Greeks

* In 1816 it was published for the second time, but only the text of Hippocrates with the translation, to which I added Hippocrates' Law, and Galen's *The Best Doctor is also a Philosopher.*

† [*Dei delitti e delle pene*]. This translation was published for a second time in 1823.

‡ *Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation de la Grèce.*

§ Today (1829) the *Elliniki Vivliothiki* with the Prodromos consists of seventeen volumes, with nine companion volumes. Besides this are the Jokes of Ierocles, and the first four rhapsodies of the Iliad, and the *Atakta* in two volumes.

caused such fear to my soul, that if it was possible in the nature of the thing and in my financial position, I would have published all the moral and political authors to moderate, if it were possible, the evils to be expected from the change.

But the brothers Zosimas (for somewhat unexpected reasons) had long before ceased their printing subsidy and my financial situation did not suffice to pay assistants or proof-readers such as were necessary for the publication of many volumes.

I began, therefore (1821), with the publication of Aristotles' *Politics.* A year before (1820) I had translated and published anonymously the curious *Advice of Three Bishops to Pope Julian the Third.* The appearance of this work was intended to correct and justify the Eastern Church. Long slavery had destroyed the culture of the nation, it was impossible for the clergy not to be corrupted, and for our religious sentiments not to become confused. But whatever and how many were the sins of the Eastern Christians, compared with the frightful abuses of the Papal court, in the scales of justice they should be considered as a few drops in the ocean, and the cohorts of the papal court, bitterly denouncing the Greeks for this, criticise men troubled by a mote, while they are blinded by a very large beam. To criticise all the Eastern clergy for the voluptuousness of a few priestly *satraps* revelling in Constantinople, is to compare the whole of the laity with the Phanariots of Constantinople.

Paris 23 December 1829

A. Korais

8:3 THE ADDRESS OF COUNT IOANNIS KAPODISTRIAS TO THE GREEKS (1819)

The Portfolio; a collection of state papers, and other documents and correspondence, historical, diplomatic and commercial, IV (London, 1836) pp. 282–301.

Address from Count Capodistrias to the Greeks

Sons of our Holy Mother Church, we are all brethren; united by our common misfortunes, we are all bound to lend each other mutual assistance; enlightened by the experience of our errors, henceforth formed in the school of the calamities which have resulted from them, and under which we succumb, we have already arrived at a certain degree of maturity, since we are all equally impressed with the happy conviction that we must give each other mutual aid, but without departing from the principles consecrated by the morality of that holy religion to which alone

we owe our existence as a nation, through which we suffer under this title, entertain a profound sense of those sufferings, and experience the necessity of delivering ourselves from them for ever. The march we have for some years pursued with the view of attaining this object is undoubtedly the true one. It is pointed out by the principles of the gospel; it exists in the nature of things.

To do good to our countrymen through the sole love of good, and from no other motive to ameliorate thereby their present lot, and thus to prepare them for the great advantages of moral and Christian salvation; not to trouble ourselves about creating this civilization on the basis of an arbitrary system, or of adventitious circumstances, but to leave this grand work to that Providence, which is alone the arbiter of nations.

Such are in general the directions followed by those Greeks who are called by their devotion to the service of our country; some in employing themselves in the better education of their children; others in promoting, by noble sacrifices, literary views amongst us, and in supporting by their means the less fortunate amongst the young Greeks who frequent the academies of Europe.

But literary education is not the only instruction which we require; our country requires another. It is moral instruction which is wanted.

Moral education ought on the one hand to have for its object to bring into prominent notice men worthy of the respect and the confidence of the nation; and on the other to accustom the nation gradually to respect, to listen to, and to believe in, such men.

If the epochs, in which every thing promised to our country the most honourable and happy future, have passed away, leaving our best hopes unaccomplished, it is because the men of whom that country was to be composed were not yet qualified, either to listen to the august voice of truth, or to be listened to by the mass of our citizens. Scanty intelligence, an entire want of experience, an ignorance of the habits and manners of the world, constituted, in those days, our whole patrimony. Life has no charms amidst such dearth of means, when such is the habitual state of things; how, then, can we hope to escape from it, or to create a happier condition of life?

The man who has shaken off the yoke may rapidly bend his mind to liberal conceptions; but, in order to reduce these ideas to practice, more is required. His heart must be endowed with enlightened benevolence which is taught by the Gospel: out of this sphere there can be no real good.

Either liberal conceptions remain in the world of abstractions, and then they remain without effect, or else they become the instrument of ambition and of personal interest, when they lose all their attraction; instead of securing attachment they draw down the detestation of the people; its civilization cannot advance; it retrogrades.

Let us render to ourselves a faithful account of the events which fill up the half of our century; let us examine the depths of our consciences with profound reflection.

Let us scrutinize the consciences of those of our countrymen who have been enabled to render us any service and have neglected the great and splendid opportunities of doing so; and we shall be intimately convinced that, but for ignorance on the one hand, and this want of moral character on the other, the men most distinguished amongst our ancestors, favoured by the circumstances of their times, would have bequeathed to us a less equivocal destiny, and a progressive amelioration of our fate.

Nevertheless, this amelioration commences; its principle element consists in the credit which, for some years past, the truths which we have just traced have enjoyed amongst us. It is our duty now to cultivate with method and wisdom this happy tendency of our countrymen, and gradually to lead it to satisfactory results.

One of the means which presents itself as it were spontaneously to the mind, is that of associating in this grand work the efforts of the most enlightened and the best disposed among the Greeks. This association appears to exist; it is in conformity with the letter as well as with the spirit of Christian fraternity; however profane be the character in which attempts are made to clothe it, it is desirable that this association should not deviate from the aim we have pointed out above, and on which it is necessary again to fix our attention. We repeat, the Greeks must solely and exclusively occupy themselves with moral and literary education; every other object is vain, every other occupation is dangerous.

The point of departure, as the centre of moral education, can only be the institution of the Clergy; ours is not instituted, for want of means; in procuring those means a noble task will be performed. We reduce these means to the following measures:

1. The procuring for the principal dioceses bishops and metropolitans, the most distinguished by their learning and by the exemplary purity of their morals.
2. To engage these prelates indirectly to favour, in the circle of their jurisdiction, public schools; under the title of alms, one might afford them pecuniary assistance.
3. To point out to them the great importance of the service which they might render to their country, in administering justice in their respective jurisdictions with a scrupulous severity and inflexible disinterestedness.

The immense authority of the church, strengthened in this manner, will become the safeguard of the nation. It alone, perhaps, will become the cradle of its future destiny. If we wished to develop this idea, it would be easy to prove conclusively, that it is through the consideration which surrounds the church, and by the salutary influence which it exercises in

the internal relations of each diocese, that we shall found the present bases of the regeneration of the nation, and that we shall as it were, hold in hand the thread to which this great event is attached.

It is unnecessary here to observe, that, in the actual state of things, this is the only means by which one can favour, on the one hand, the elevation of men who must be listened to, and, on the other hand, maintain the respect and the confidence of the people towards the latter.

Whatever be the chances of events, whether the present state of our country is to be maintained unchangeable during a series of years, or whether Greece is to undergo a crisis, it is always a matter of deep interest:—

1. That the nation should be entirely devoted to its church, and that thereby the people of each country should be led naturally to recognize and to cherish those chiefs who have the most laboured for their happiness.
2. That the pastors should be, as much as possible, the organs of this grand result.
3. That public instruction should be identified with that of the clergy, that the one should never be detached from the other, still less be ever at variance with it.

In favouring the instruction of youth, and in carefully drawing into the bosom of their families men formed in the school of the universities of the world, great care must be taken not to permit them to place themselves in opposition to the church.

This is a grand service, which the Greeks enjoying any credit may and ought to render to their country. They will effect it, in moderation by their ascendency over the pretensions of the learned, and in neutralizing the prejudices with which ignorance loves to surround itself.

We have said that it is highly important that prelates enlightened, and revered for the purity of their morals, should be placed over the great dioceses.

The second part of moral education should have for its object the formation of men to the affairs of their country. The best school for us is that which is offered by the Christian people of our own religion, and by the free people. It is in Russia that we may perceive how the national prosperity and the progress of civilization is derived from the church.

It is in Switzerland, in England, and in America, where we may learn, by the attractions of example, the science and the art of liberty.

Liberty is a science because it is founded upon principles; it is an art, because the most elevated doctrine is not worth a good action, and because, in affairs, all is action. One must therefore be placed in the midst of freemen to learn to be free, both by the principle and in the fact. One must live some time amidst a nation eminently Christian and religious, and

thereby prosperous, to learn to be religious by sentiment as well as by discipline.

The influential men of our country ought, therefore, not to lose sight of these observations, and in adopting them they ought to take care that some of our young people should receive a good education in Russia, in Switzerland, in England, and in America.

Commerce offers them a very propitious opportunity: amongst these young men, one may select those who give the fairest promise by their talents as well as by their morals, and make them travel for a time in the countries which we have just mentioned. Once formed in these great schools, they must be summoned back and be provided with employment, either by investing them with public duties, or by showing them confidence.

The greater part of the Greeks who have distinguished themselves abroad find themselves, on their return home, out of place and employment; struck with *ennui* and want of consideration, they grow impatient; they seek elsewhere an existence which they cannot enjoy in their native land; they leave it – they are lost to their country. The grand point is to preserve them, and to make them work for her. This question, in theory, seems immensely difficult; it is easy from the moment it is considered under a practical point of view; man exists but by one interest; the grand art consists in making him find one, and associating this interest with the interest of all.

But there is not a village which does not offer a mass of interests, especially to those who are endowed with strong feeling and much imagination, and when national history can move the one and nourish the other.

In occupying themselves with a part of the service of our country, those who are well disposed may be of great use to her, either in promoting the political education, so to speak, of the young men of great promise, or in making use of those who may have realized those promises by their observations whilst travelling abroad.

These two branches of the national service require a point of contact, a common centre of departure. The enlightened men amongst us who are well disposed and sincere Christians, will be able to form this centre. In constantly giving to all our efforts this straight and moral direction, we fail in none of the duties which each of us has contracted towards the order of things existing in the country which contains our domestic hearths, and the tomb of our fathers; and at the same time we fulfil loyally and honourably all the duties imposed upon us by our holy religion. It commands from us the love of our neighbour, still more that of our countrymen.

On the day when we shall depart from this line of conduct, when we

shall embrace a different doctrine, our sacrifices will add to the misfortunes of our country.

It will be, then, no longer the question of the public welfare, but the ambition and the vanity of some individuals, to which the interests of our common country will be made subservient.

We hope to steer clear of this great danger; the consequences of our errors still weigh on our heads.

8:4 COUNT IOANNIS KAPODISTRIAS: A SKETCH OF MY CAREER BETWEEN 1798 AND 1822

Ioannis Kapodistrias, 'Aperçu de ma carrière publique, depuis 1798 jusqu'à 1822', *Shornik russkogo istoricheskogo obschestva,* III (1968) 163ff.

After the fall of the republic of Venice, the French occupied the Ionian islands, together with their dependencies on the littoral of Epirus. In 1798 a Russian and Ottoman fleet, commanded by Admiral Ushakov, arrived in these islands after it had been announced there, by a proclamation of the Patriarch of Constantinople, who, in the name of religion, of the motherland and of true liberty, exhorted the Greeks to take up arms and deliver themselves from French domination. The Ionian islanders, the warriors of Souli, Parga, Preveza, of Vonitza and of Butrinto responded courageously to this appeal, and, within a few days, the French were forced to evacuate all the fortified points and to surrender Levkas and Corfu [. . .]

The treaty of March 1800, between Russia and the Ottoman Porte under the guarantee of England, in effect constituted the Ionian Islands a Republic in the manner of Ragusa. It was aristocratic [in government] and a tributary of the Porte, and the new republic was also, according to the terms of the treaty, to pay tribute to the Porte and to be governed by the nobility.

The inhabitants of the littoral of Epirus were also to govern themselves according to their customs, under the direction of the Ionian Senate and to pay a kind of capitation tax to the Porte to be exempted in return from the presence of Muslims, both military and civilian. [. . .]

After several months, the former Venetian littoral was invaded by Ali Paşa, and in the islands, the terror which this infraction of the treaties inspired, and the internal troubles which resulted, led the Ionian government to solicit the immediate protection of Russia . . . The Emperor Alexander of glorious memory acceded to the wishes of the Ionian government [. . .] It was then that the republic was reorganised and internal peace spread its beneficient influence until the year 1807, when

this country was ceded without its knowledge to Bonaparte, then Emperor of the French.

It was during these seven years that, while yet young, I began my public career. First as extraordinary commissioner of the government in the isles, then as minister with executive powers for all branches of the administration, and finally, as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Navy and Commerce.

When French troops replaced the Russian, I was at Levkas, at the head of the entire Ionian militia, of the Souliots and Rumeliots in the pay of Russia, concerned with proposed measures to seize the coastal places from the hands of Ali Paşa and the French, then his auxiliaries.

My relations with the Greeks of Epirus, of the Peloponnese and of the Archipelago therefore date from the time when, in serving my country, I also served Russia with the great object of preserving Greece from the seductions of the French government. Thanks to the powerful means and the generous policy that the Emperor Alexander placed at the disposition of the Ionian government, it was easy to carry out this duty, in awakening in the lively and eminently Christian souls of the Christian chiefs of Greece sentiments which were natural to them and in persuading them that only Russia had the power and the desire progressively to improve their lot.

The example of the Septinsular Republic spoke loud to their hearts and to their imagination, and if the Peace of Tilsit momentarily shook their confidence in Russian protection, other circumstances were to reanimate it and render it more intimate and more profound.

There is no doubt that in the opinion of men at that time Bonaparte's power was colossal, but in the eyes of the Greeks and from their perspective, it was only precarious, for sovereignty over the sea remained in the hands of Great Britain. On the other hand, however eager were the English to acquire the confidence of the Greeks, these last, in their dual capacity as sailors and merchants, have never been able to find in the English nation a protection as sympathetic and as useful as that of which Russia had demonstrated to them the inestimable benefits.

The catastrophe which had suffocated the Ionian Republic in its cradle, far from discouraging the Greeks, only served to concentrate their hopes once more in Russia. And it was in sharing this sentiment that my father, and with him the most influential men of the islands and Greece, considered the invitation to go to Russia which I had received in 1808, as the most happy augury for the future of their abandoned country. [. . .]

I arrived in Vienna [for the Congress of Vienna] in October 1814. [. . .] Several days later I read to the Emperor a memorandum which the Metropolitan Ignatios [Oungrovlakhias] had addressed to Him with His authorisation. This document gave account of several particulars of the

recent war, analysed the Treaty of Bucharest, demonstrated the great importance of the places on the Asiatic littoral [of the Black Sea] whose restitution the Turks were seeking, and gave a general view of the urgent necessity of no longer abandoning the Christians of the East to their unfortunate fate at a time when all peoples were obtaining the benefits of a durable peace and a legal order under the auspices of His Imperial Majesty.

The Emperor on this occasion gave to the Metropolitan an indication of his regard in raising his pension [. . .] In granting this favour He added, 'What can one do at the moment to testify to an interest in the Greeks? There is nothing to be done for them here, and whatever one might try to do, would lead precisely to the consequences that you fear the most, namely the intervention of foreign powers in our relations with the Turks' [. . .]

'It is through the Ionian Islands, Sire, that a glimpse of a better future may be given to Greece. But these islands are occupied by the English; and they will not consent to leave them for an Austrian garrison to be installed there. Now, in consenting to this, one would set back by a century the destinies of a nation that marches with the times despite the Turks and the friends of the Turks would be retarded by a century.'

The Emperor had the goodness to listen with the greatest attention to all the aspects of this idea, and in approving them, He added: 'I neither can, nor should, re-assume the protection of the islands. That would be in an instant to reawaken again the ancient jealousies and risk confusing everything. On the other hand, it is not possible to return to that which had ended. Since the English are in Corfu and it is not easy to remove them, try at least, through force of perseverance, to obtain from their plenipotentiaries as advantageous conditions as possible for your country. I will leave you to do it and I ask no better than to support you in the fight. God will do the rest for our brethren of the East.'

'Sire, without departing from this line we can nevertheless do something for them. The English have already established a Society in Athens, which has the apparent goal of gathering and preserving the remains of ancient monuments. Let us follow this example, but think of the present and of the future, by offering some help to poor young Greeks who are avid for instruction.' I then suggested to His Majesty the idea of opening in Vienna a subscription to this effect. The Emperor authorised me to draw a prospectus for this subscription and to submit it to Him.*

After having approved it, the Emperor took out an annual subscription of 200 Dutch ducats. Her Majesty the Empress subscribed 100 ducats. Other sovereigns, their ministers and all the distinguished personages that

* See Section 6:4.

the Congress attracted to Vienna also subscribed. The sum which resulted from this first subscription was shared and part was sent to the *ephors* of the schools in Athens, and part to those who proposed to found a school on Mount Pelion.

Such is the origin of the Society of Friends of the Muses, called in Greece the *Philomouson Etairia*, which later a number of restless and turbulent men tried to distort, linking it with older societies founded by the late Rigas [Velestinlis] and which were all a necessary and inevitable consequence of two permanent causes: the nature of the Turkish government and the suggestions of foreign policy in that unhappy country [. . .]

[1817] An incident was to put to the test the goodwill that the Emperor was pleased to testify towards me. A young Greek, called [Nikolaos] Galatis, from the island of Ithaca, arrived in Odessa and sent me a letter in which he asked for authorisation to proceed to St Petersburg, as he had, so he said, highly important communications to make to me. I placed this letter before the eyes of the Emperor. 'Do you know him?' 'No, Sire.' 'Do you have any inkling of the communications that he could have to make to you?' 'None at all, but to judge by his letter, I expect some extravagance. Otherwise I cannot see why, if he is already in Odessa, he does not write what he has to tell me.' 'No matter', the Emperor replied at this point, 'get him to come. It is a good idea to get a close up view of this man.' Galatis then went to St Petersburg and presented himself to me. He wore the uniform of the Ionian militia, which resembles an English uniform . . . and gave himself the title of count. His appearance, his bearing and the language which he began by employing towards me, at once made me think that this young man was an adventurer. However, the explanations, that he appeared in a hurry to give me, made me change my mind. I got him to speak and then understood that it was a question of something more serious. M. Galatis was in effect the emissary of a secret society, exclusively composed of Greeks, which aimed to deliver their country from the Turkish yoke by means of a general insurrection. He came to propose to me that I should become the leader of this society and, accordingly, to direct its operations. He offered to read me the instructions and all the papers, of which he was the bearer. I stopped him short, in expressing to him in very strong terms the surprise and indignation with which I learned of the insensate and dangerous designs of his colleagues, as well as the motive of his voyage and the revelations which he had been charged with making to me. 'To think, Sir, of such a project one must be demented, and to dare to involve me in this house, where I have the honour of serving a great and powerful sovereign, one would have to be like you, a young man scarcely emerged from the rocks of Ithaca and led astray by I know not what blind passions. I cannot

any longer discuss the object of your mission and I declare to you that I will never take cognisance of your papers. The only advice that I can give you is not to speak to a soul, and to retrace your steps immediately, to say to your colleagues, that if they do not wish to be lost, and to lose with them their innocent and unfortunate nation, they must renounce their revolutionary intrigues and live, as in the past, under the governments under which they find themselves until Providence has decided otherwise.'

I developed to him the reasons which had led me to give him this advice and I dismissed him.

In recounting to the Emperor this wretched affair, I begged His Majesty to authorise me to get Galatis to leave forthwith. The Emperor, while wholly approving the language that I had used with Galatis, did not share my opinion as to the urgent necessity of sending him away from St Petersburg. On the contrary He charged me with seeing him and trying to find out more of the means which his colleagues believed to be at their disposal to achieve their goal. I resigned myself to this express wish of His Imperial Majesty, and I returned to my residence. I was nevertheless so affected that my health, already weak, worsened to the point of preventing me doing any work for several days.

While the agents of the police spied on M. Galatis, and when as a result of their report the Emperor had learned that this young man was letting everyone penetrate the character and projects of the secret society, of which he was an emissary, His Majesty ordered his arrest, and warned me via Prince Volkonsky.

I then addressed a letter to the Emperor, in which I pointed to the inevitable consequences of this arrest, both for the Christians placed under the Muslim scimitar and for myself. I observed that the police of St Petersburg would believe me suspect with regard to His Majesty, and that Greeks would see in me the cause of all the misfortunes which would befall them when the Porte had learned of M. Galatis' mission, which Lord Cathcart and the British Embassy in Constantinople would not fail to reveal to it. It was during the evening at a late hour that the Emperor received my letter. His Majesty sent His *valet de chambre* to tell me to present myself before Him. He received me, saying 'Why have you written this letter? Could you not have given me an explanation in person?' 'No, Sire, the sadness that I feel is so deep that I only trust myself in writing.' 'I appreciate your sorrow and I share it [. . .] General Gorgoli will communicate to you all the depositions made by Galatis.' [. . .] The next day the police sent me a copy of, or an extract from, the interrogation. [. . .] I spoke to Galatis in French in the presence of the chief of police. This unfortunate young man was escorted as far as Bucharest where, by an instruction which I addressed to M. Pini, the Russian consul general, on the express orders of the Emperor, he was placed under the surveillance of

the consulate until means had been found of making him reach the land of his birth safely.

The enquiry and the papers, of which M. Galatis was the bearer, had revealed the plans of the secret society. The Emperor had knowledge of them and consented to discuss with me what could be done to preserve the Christians of the East from the disaster with which this enterprise threatened them. Russia had no jurisdiction over the men who composed this secret society and as a result could neither watch nor arrest them. What it could have done by legal channels was to have made the Porte aware of their activities, but being aware by sad experience of the atrocious and bloody measures with which they would have responded to this warning and knowing that the most eminent Greeks, the most wealthy and perhaps those with least connection with the Society, would have been the first victims of the fury of the Turks, the Emperor resolved to do nothing. 'We can do nothing', His Majesty told me. 'Let us remain pure. Let us try in the area of our own authority to enlighten the Greeks who are among us, and Providence will save the others.'

It was to carry out these wishes of the Emperor that I then wrote special letters, seen and approved by His Majesty, to those Greeks living in the Principalities and in Odessa, who enjoyed the respect of their compatriots, so as to alert them to the agitators who were known to us, and to urge them to thwart their plots.

I frankly confess here that later, when the insurrection broke out, I reproached myself with not having proposed to the Emperor that he inform Baron Stroganoff [Russian Ambassador in Constantinople] of the revelations of M. Galatis, in authorising him to direct the surveillance of the Russian consuls in all the harbours of the Levant over the activities of the Society. It is nonetheless true that communications of this kind, addressed to the Consul General in the two Principalities, did not produce the effect of disabusing opinion as to the designs that were falsely attributed to Russia [. . .]

[A number of 'the most eminent *kapetanioi* of Rumeli and Epirus' arrived in Moscow in 1818.] These courageous men had served Russia in the Ionian Islands under the command of General Papadopoulos and had been with me in the camp of Levkas in 1807. The English had discharged them and sent them to their homes, where the usual alternative awaited them, either to submit to the slavery with which Ali Paşa threatened them or of resisting him by force of arms. They came to see me, to tell of their situation, to solicit the protection and the help of the Emperor and the commission of the ranks in which they had the honour of serving His Imperial Majesty. On questioning them on the intrigues of the secret society, they revealed themselves to be completely strangers to it, and I had the good faith to believe them. However, I did not fail to repeat to

them what I had written, at the Emperor's command, to the Greeks of Odessa and the Principalities. I demonstrated to them with evidence all the dangers of such a mad enterprise. Finally I besought them to employ all their influence to deflect all those who had the misfortune to enroll in the membership of the society.

These captains listened to me with attention, but without result; for the way things developed proved to me that, even if at this time they had no part in the secret society, they were later to be enmeshed in its nets and were to go along with it. [. . .]

[In May 1818 the Tsar Alexander and Kapodistrias journeyed to Bessarabia.] The *hospodars* of Moldavia and Wallachia sent deputies to compliment the Emperor on His arrival at the frontier. For Wallachia this was Prince Mavrokordatos, and for Moldavia, if I am not mistaken, [Konstantinos] Pantazoglou. These envoys were greeted by His Imperial Majesty with a great deal of kindness. In their discussions with me, they strove to prove to me that the continuation of peace with the Turks was impossible and that, as Greeks, they burned to learn that the Russian armies were on the eve of crossing the Pruth. 'You believe then', I replied, 'that they will cross it to raise you to the dignity of sovereigns? Give me a similar example in history. As there is not one, do you claim that your fate makes an exception to the common rule? Without this there would have been much blood expended, great sacrifices, a great number of lives and fortunes destroyed, and to what end? . . . To exchange a turban for a hat? [. . .] As a servant of His Imperial Majesty, I declare to you that His firm and unvarying intention is to cement the peace with the Turks on the basis of the existing treaties, if the Greeks know and wish in good faith to profit from this system, far from losing thereby they could on the contrary gain much.' I continued, developing the picture of the present situation of commerce and the merchant navy in the Levant, I showed them the prosperous state of the educational establishments which already exist in Greece . . . all that was being done and all that it was proposed to do in Europe in favour the progress of young Greeks in the careers of letters, of sciences, of the arts and of the professions. Finally I concluded by telling them: 'Allow these powerful forces to work. Trust in time, and hope only in Providence.' [. . .]

The bothersome state of my health and a letter which my brother had brought from my elderly parents, decided the Emperor to grant me leave to go to Corfu. My octagenarian parents wanted to see me and to give me their blessing before departing this life. [. . .]

'I commend you above all', His Majesty told me, 'to care for your health. [. . .] Try to bring calm to your country. Make your compatriots see reason and, through them, the rest of the Greeks. I want to contribute to the improvement of their lot, but on the basis of the treaties. The world

has need of repose. One can only ensure it by unity among the governments. The great result of our labours will be lost the moment the interests of the Levant sow the seeds of discord in our midst. We must thus leave things as they are and limit ourselves to doing all the good possible to your own people, without by this encouraging them to expect from me what it is not actually in my power to do for them.' [. . .]

To conform with the Emperor's wishes I stayed for some time in Vienna. Then I divided my time until the beginning of March 1819 between Venice, Lombardy, Tuscany, Rome and Naples. I only arrived in Corfu towards the end of March. [. . .]

Overwhelmed by the tyrannical power that General Maitland [the British High Commissioner] exercised there my motherland groaned still from the misfortunes of its neighbours, the inhabitants of Parga, the Souliots and the Rumeliots, not long since in the Russian service and who were experiencing the most atrocious and insensate persecutions.

The sacrifice of Parga was carried out before my eyes. I had the sadness of seeing the population arrive on the shores of Corfu, uprooted by the bad faith and false calculations of British agents, obliged to deliver their old homes to Ali Paşa for a modest sum of money and carrying away with them only the exhumed bones of their fathers.

Kolokotronis, Botzaris and the most distinguished men of the Peloponnese, Acarnania, and of the Archipelago came to see me on account of our former acquaintance, but essentially in the hope of learning from me that Russia would once again place Greece under her powerful aegis.

On focusing my attention on the inevitable consequences of the fate of Parga and of the violent regime under which the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands groaned, I understood the system of General Maitland with regard to the Islands and all points of the Levant where there were Greeks who insisted on hoping for the restoration of their country.

This was to efface from the spirit of the Ionian Islanders the memory of the past; to calumniate and persecute the men who were the living witness of the benefits that this country had obtained through the protection of Russia; to denature and extirpate from the heart of the Ionian Islanders all sentiment of their nationality and country, in isolating them in this respect from their neighbours, the rest of the Greeks; to drive back these last under the sword of Ali Paşa, so as to extinguish by this means the true home of patriotism and of Hellenic power. Such was the dominant thought of this system, such were the real motives behind the disaster of Parga, and the persecutions which reduced the *kapetanioi*, formerly in the Russian service, of Epirus, of the Peloponnese and of the Archipelago to despair.

In my conversations with these men, as unfortunate as they were respectable, I kept to the language which the Emperor had prescribed for

me, language, moreover, which in the circumstance was that of my own convictions. I sought to demonstrate to them that the Emperor of Russia was in no way disposed to take up the sword against the Turks, or to complicate his relations with England; that all that was practicable would be done to their advantage, without running the risk of war. But they should arm themselves with patience and resignation, and try, in waiting, to secure a good national education for their children, leaving the rest to time and to Providence. 'We cannot', they answered me, 'because the English, whom you have brought to the islands, do not leave us even this consolation. They press us from all sides. They want to rid themselves of us for all time. You know that after the fall of Souli, Parga and the islands were our sole refuge. Assured of this asylum for our wives and children, we could defend ourselves in the mountains, and thus make ourselves respected by the Turks. Today this last resource is taken from us. Parga is in the power of Ali Paşa. What is to become of us? Could we establish ourselves in the islands, when the English refuse us even the means of living for the aid of our flocks? The King of Naples does not want our services . . . Ah well! if Russia abandons us, God will not abandon us. Placed in the most desperate dilemma by the great of the earth, we will one day unfurl the flag of the cross. And if we cannot deliver ourselves from the Turks, we shall at least die worthy of our forefathers . . . You speak to us of the future education of our children, and we lack daily bread, and we have not the wherewithal with which to celebrate the festival of the coming week.' It was the feast of Easter.

This powerful reply did not discourage me. I gave them for the moment all the pecuniary help of which I could dispose on my own. I promised them to solicit that of His Imperial Majesty in favour of their families at the right time and place. I pressed those who had come from afar to return home, and to avoid any false interpretation of our conversations, I gave them in writing everything that I had said by word of mouth.* So as to make this precaution more effective, I sent a copy of this confidentially to Baron de Stroganoff, and to the consuls of Russia in the Levant, informing them of the state of things and begging them to prevent ill-will profiting from this occasion to give birth among our co-religionists false ideas or dangerous hopes. [. . .]

It was [. . .] in the winter of 1820 that Prince Alexandros Ypsilantis sought and obtained his release from active service and received permission to undertake a journey outside Russia for the restoration of his health. The family of Prince Ypsilantis had been heaped with benefits by the Emperor and I had announced them to him by order of His Imperial Majesty. This circumstance had put me in particular contact with Prince

* Cf. Section 8:3.

Alexandros. He came to see me before leaving St Petersburg. In talking to me about the journey that he wished to make in the spring, he asked me for a letter of recommendation for the Duc de Richelieu, then prime minister in France, given that he proposed to solicit the restitution of his father's mansion which the Turks had confiscated and presented to the Embassy of France under the Imperial régime. I promised him this letter which I gave him without difficulty . . . He came also to see me and to speak with me about the desperate situation of the Greeks, as a result of the political system of Russia and England, and as a result of the war which the Porte was waging against Ali Pasa, who had been declared a rebel at this time.

I replied to the Prince that neither he nor I were competent judges of such questions, and that even if we were, our opinion would change nothing in the state of things, and that since he had broached this subject, I believed it my duty to engage him to be on his guard and not to allow himself to be seduced by intriguers who passed themselves off, without a commission, to be the representatives of the Greek nation. 'Do not place them all', he said to me, 'in the same category. I know several who are respectable and I am about to give you the proof.' He then showed me a document, in which the formation of a society was proposed, which would have as an object the amassing of money by means of subscriptions, which would be placed at interest until the moment when the deliverance of Greece would demand their use. He begged me to keep it, read it and later to give him my opinion. 'I will give it to you immediately, my Prince, without having read the document in question. It is precisely these makers of plans who are the most blameworthy and who push Greece to ruin. These are miserable merchants' clerks, ruined by misconduct, who take in the name of a motherland which they do not possess, the money of decent folk. They want to involve you in their conspiracy to give credit to their intrigues. I repeat to you, beware of these people.'

'And what will become of these poor Greeks. Will they always be slaughtered by the Turks, and will politics do nothing for them?'

'The Greeks who bear arms', I replied, 'will defend themselves in the mountains, as they have done for centuries. And if, in the struggle which is about to break out with Ali Paşa, they succeed in obtaining Souli and other similar positions, they will make a prolonged resistance. Thus advantageously placed, they will seek nothing from European diplomacy and perhaps time and events will bring with them chances that will be favourable to them. It is only then that Greece could hope for an improvement of her lot. But if one claims to arrive at the goal by stirring up trouble and deluding oneself about forcing the hand of the Emperor, one not only deceives oneself but projects this unfortunate nation into an abyss of horror, from which no one in the world can extract it.' With these

words I took leave of the Prince and I begged him once again not to forget what I had just told him . . . because his language had made me suspect that he was surrounded by dangerous men, cleverer than he. He left St Petersburg, went to Kiev and from there to Kishinev where his family lived. I did not hear any more of him until the moment when he became the blind and reckless instrument of the catastrophe in the two Principalities. [. . .]

REVOLUTIONARY CROSSCURRENTS

9 The Influence of the French Revolution

9:1 RIGAS VELESTINLIS: REVOLUTIONARY PROCLAMATION (1797)

Riga Pheraiou, *I Elliniki Dimokratia,* ed. G. Papageorgiou (Athens, 1971).

[Revolutionary Proclamation]
For Law and Fatherland

[To] the people, descended from the Greeks, who inhabit Rumeli, Asia Minor, the Mediterranean islands, Wallachia and Moldavia, and all who groan under the most unbearable tyranny of the most abominable Ottoman despotism or who have been forced to flee to foreign kingdoms, to escape its insupportable and burdensome yoke. All, I say, Christians and Turks, without any distinction of religion (since all are creatures of God and children of the first man), who think that the tyrant, called the Sultan, wholly given over to his filthy woman-obsessed appetites, surrounded by eunuchs and bloodthirsty and ignorant courtiers, has forgotten and despised humanity, has hardened his heart against innocence, and the most beautiful kingdom in the world [the Byzantine Empire], on all sides praised by the philosophers, has been reduced to a country of such abominable anarchy, where no one of whatever class or religion, is assured either of his life, or of his honour, or of his property; but where the quietest, the most innocent, the most upright citizen, is in danger of becoming, at any moment, a pitiable victim of the tyrant's imagination or of the savage deputies and unworthy magnates of the tyrant and finally (and this happens most frequently) of his most savage imitators, with their evil ways, delighting in unpunishable crime, in the most harsh inhumanity, in murder, without any examination, without any judgement.

O heavens! you are the impartial witness of such evil deeds. O sun! you daily see such beastly effronteries. O earth! you are watered continuously by the streams of innocent blood. Who has the voice to contradict me? [. . .]

This until now unfortunate people, I say, seeing that all its miseries and woes, its daily tears, its annihilation, deriving from the bad and most vile government, from the absence of good laws, has resolved, taking courage once again, to look up to the Heavens, to raise up manfully its overburdened neck and, furiously equipping its arms with the weapons of vengeance and despair, to shout out in a great shout before the whole Oikumene, with a thunderous shout, the holy and blameless rights, which are God given, in order to live quietly in the earth.

Therefore, so that all the inhabitants may unanimously and continuously compare, with tireless scrutiny, the activities of the government of the rulers with the objective of social legislation, manfully throwing off the worthless yoke of despotism and embracing the cherished Freedom of their glorious forebears; so that they never allow themselves to be subjected in the future as slaves of the inhuman tyranny; so that each one may have, as a bright mirror before his eyes, the bases of his liberty, his security and his happiness; so that the judges manifestly may know what is their unavoidable obligation towards free citizens being judged; so that the lawmakers and the first people of the government may know the honest standard by which their calling must be measured and inspired for the happiness of the citizens

is publicly proclaimed

the following public declaration of the cherished rights of man and of the free inhabitants of the empire.

9:2 RIGAS VELESTINLIS: *THE RIGHTS OF MAN* (1797)

THE RIGHTS OF MAN

Article 1

The object, with which from the beginning of the world, men have gathered together from the forests for the first time, so as to live together building villages and cities, is to help one another and to live contentedly, and not to eat each other up, and not for anyone to suck their blood.

Then they made a king to watch over their interests, so as to be certain of the enjoyment of their natural rights, which no one on the face of the earth has the right to take away from them.

Article 2

These natural rights are. *First,* for all to be equal and not for one to be below another. *Second,* that we should be free and not for any one to be a

slave to anyone else. *Third,* that we should be secure in our life and that no one should deprive us of it unjustly and according to his whim. *Fourth,* that no one may touch the properties we own, but that they should be our own and those of our descendants.

Article 3

All men, Christians and Turks, for natural reasons are equal. When someone is at fault, whatever his position, the law is that for the fault and is unalterable. That is to say the rich man is not punished less and the poor man more for the same wrong act, but equally.

Article 4

The Law is that free decision, that has come about with the consent of all people, for example that we all wish that the murderer be executed. This is called a law, and it is the same for all of us in terms of punishment. And to take another [law] which is protecting us; that is to say we all wish to have authority over our property, no one therefore has permission to take anything from us by force. This a law, because singly we accept it and we wish it. The law should always protect whatever is right and beneficial to society and should prevent whatever harms us.

Article 5

All citizens can receive honours and public offices. Free nations recognise no other cause of preference in their choices than prudence and diligence; that is to say anyone, when he is worthy and diligent, can obtain a public office. On the other hand office should not be given to one who is not worthy but is vulgar, for, not knowing how to carry it out, he clashes with and harms the public with his ignorance and incompetence.

Article 6

Freedom is that power that a man has to do everything which does not harm the rights of his neighbours. This [freedom] has nature as its foundation, for we naturally love to be free. Freedom has justice as a canon, for just liberty is good; it has as a protector the law, for this determines up to what point we can be free. The moral limit to freedom is this saying: *Do not do to another, that which you do not want him to do to you.*

Article 7

The right to manifest our opinions and our thoughts, in print or in any other way, the right to gather together peaceably, the freedom of every kind of religion, Christianity, Islam, Judaism and the rest, are not hindered in the present government.

When such rights are hindered, this is clearly the result of tyranny, or is still a reminder of the ostracised despotism which we have overthrown.

Article 8

Security is that support, which is given by the whole nation and people for the protection of one's self, rights and properties. That is to say when someone harms a single person or unjustly takes something from him, the whole people must rise up against the perpetrator and expel him.

Article 9

The law has the duty to protect the common freedom of the whole nation and that of every individual inhabiting this Empire, against the oppression and power of the rulers. When these rule well, the law should protect them, if they rule badly, the law should cast them off.

Article 10

No person shall be summoned to judgment, nor seized by the bailiff's men, nor imprisoned in any other fashion, other than the law provides, that is to say when the person errs, and not according to the whim and fancy of the judge. Each inhabitant, however, when summoned to judgment, or arrested according to the law by the servants of the court, must immediately obey and go to receive judgment. For if an individual resists and refuses to go to judgment, he becomes an offender, and it is a sufficient fault, when the law summons an individual and he wilfully resists and refuses to go, when he knows that he will not be punished if he is innocent.

Article 11

Every act of force, which they might want to carry out against a person, who has not erred and whom they wish to condemn without the protection of the law, [is . . .] a tyrannical work. The person, then, whom they want to force in this way, has the right and is free to resist with all his power, to overthrow the decision with force and not to obey it.

Article 12

Those who publish decrees, or who want to sign them, or who want to execute them, or who want to put others to finish them, saying that they are necessary things, without the knowledge of the government, are offenders and should be severely punished.

Article 13

If any man, who appears to be innocent, is slandered before it has been ascertained that he is guilty, and if it is necessary that he be seized by officials of the court, then every severity, such as bindings, insults, beatings, which is not necessary for the detention of that man, until he has been judged, is to be forbidden. And only when he has been shown to be a criminal, then shall begin the punishment of the individual, as the law provides.

Article 14

No person shall be judged and punished unless he has spoken in his defence and has been summoned to judgement according to the laws. And he should only be punished if the law was made before he committed the offence. The law which seeks to punish crimes which occurred at a time when it was not in force is called tyranny. And for a new law to punish old crimes is called lawlessness, that is to say if a person takes the ox of another, and up until that moment when he took it there was no law, forbidding the seizure of another's things. If afterwards a law has been published that no one is to seize the things of another, the usurper gives back the ox, but is not punished. For he did not know that the seizure was wrong.

Article 15

The law should prescribe punishments exactly and they should be of demonstrable necessity. These punishments should be commensurate with the crime and beneficial to the society of citizens; that is to say if someone hits someone else, he should be hit, but not beheaded.

Article 16

The right to the peaceful enjoyment of his property belongs to every citizen; that is to say to enjoy it and to be able to use it according to his will, to enjoy his revenues, the fruits of his skill, his labour and his

industry, without anyone ever being able to take so much as a coin by force.

Article 17

No kind of work, art, husbandry, trade or any undertaking beneficial to society is forbidden to the inhabitants. The industry of all citizens can extend to all forms of skill and learning.

Article 18

Every person can work for another as a servant, offering his time for the use of another. He cannot however sell himself, nor can another sell him, since he is not only in the service of himself but also of the Motherland. The law does not recognise any enslavement, neither slavery nor private slaves. Only one obligation is maintained, that the servant should care for his work and be grateful to the person that pays his wage, who does not have the right to insult him, nor to beat him. If however, he revokes the agreement, he pays him up to that moment and, afterwards, dismisses him.

Article 19

No one may be deprived of the least part of his properties without his wish. If, however, there is some public need, that is to say, the Motherland needs his garden, to make a market or any other building, then the garden should be valued, the landowner be paid, and thus the market or building should be built.

Article 20

Every tax should be for the public benefit and not through seizure of one person or another. All inhabitants have the right to attend the opening of the tax register, to watch over the collection of taxes and to receive a receipt from him who has collected it.

Article 21

Public subscriptions and rewards are a sacred object of the Motherland. The public owe help to unfortunate inhabitants, both in supplying them with the wherewithal to work, as well as giving the means of subsistence to those who can no longer work. That is to say if a farmer has not oxen and is made idle, the Motherland has an obligation to give to him and to wait

for him to pay it back. If someone is crippled in war for the Motherland, the latter should reward him and feed him, for as long as he lives.

Article 22

All, without exception, are obliged to know letters. The Motherland must establish schools for boys and girls in all the villages. From letters is generated progress, with which free nations shine. The ancient historical writers should be interpreted. In the big cities the French and Italian languages should be taught. The Greek language is mandatory.

Article 23

The common surety and security of every citizen depends on the activity of all the citizens. That is to say we must consider that when anything bad happens to someone, all are involved, and for this reason we must assure to everyone the exercise and the guarding of their rights. This security is founded upon the sovereignty of the nation. That is to say that the whole nation is wronged, when a single citizen is wronged.

Article 24

This sovereignty does not have validity if the bounds of public offices are not clearly delineated by law and if it is not clearly decided that all the officials of this Empire must give account.

Article 25

The Empire is founded upon the people. It is one, indivisible, indeterminate and inalienable. That is to say that only the people may command and not one group of people or one city. And the people can direct in all things without impediment.

Article 26

No part of the people can activate the power of the whole nation. However, each part of the sovereign people collectively has the right to speak its will and opinion with a true freedom.

Article 27

Any man who seeks to seize the Empire and the authority of the nation,

should immediately be imprisoned by the free men, to be judged and punished according to the law.

Article 28

A nation always has the right to reorganise and change its legislation. The people of one generation cannot subject to their laws those who will be born after them.

Article 29

Every citizen has an equal right with other citizens to combine to enact a law, or to name the officers, deputies, and generals and rulers of the nation.

Article 30

The offices of the Motherland are held provisionally as the government wishes and judges proper. These should not be considered as exceptional honours, nor as rewards, but as essential obligations of the citizens for the functioning of their Motherland.

Article 31

The crimes of the rulers of the nation and of its officers can never remain unpunished. No one has the right to consider himself more inviolate than others. That is to say, when someone great or small errs, the law punishes him without fail according to his transgression, even if he is the highest functionary.

Article 32

The right of each citizen to issue a written petition and to complain of any annoyance, however it may affect him, to those who have the authority of the nation in their hands must not be impeded in any way. Nor shall he be told there is no time or place, but whatever time the complaining citizen goes, his petition should be received.

Article 33

For every citizen to resist when oppressed and wronged is the result of the aforementioned rights. For no one resists, when he knows that he will receive his due with the assistance of the law.

Article 34

When a single inhabitant of this Empire is wronged, the entire Empire is wronged. And again, when the Empire is wronged or attacked, each citizen is wronged or attacked. For this reason no one can ever say such and such a country is attacked, it does not concern me because I am quiet in my own, but [he should say] I am attacked when such and such a country suffers as part of the whole that I am. The Bulgar must be moved when the Greek suffers. And the latter again for him, and both for the Albanian and the Wallachian.

Article 35

When the Government harrasses, breaches, disdains the rights of the people and does not heed its complaints, then for the people or each part of the people to make a revolution, take up arms and punish his tyrants is the most sacred of all his rights and the most compelling of all his obligations. If they find themselves, however, in a place where there are more tyrants, the bravest patriots and lovers of freedom must seize the crossings of the roads and the tops of the mountains, until many have assembled, to increase their number, and then to begin their onslaught on the tyrants. [They should] create a leader for each group of ten, one for each group of fifty and a hundred, with a leader for each ten groups of a hundred, and a general for each group of a thousand, and the commander-in-chief should have many generals.

The debts of cities, towns, villages and of citizens in various parts, which have been incurred before five years, if interest has been paid to the lenders during this period, are revoked by the present government. And the lenders do not have the right in the future to seek either capital or interest from the debtors, who took their loans, because they double their capital in five years.

9:3 RIGAS VELESTINLIS: *THE NEW POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE INHABITANTS OF RUMELI, ASIA MINOR, THE ARCHIPELAGO, MOLDAVIA AND WALLACHIA* (1797)

Concerning the Republic

Article 1

The Greek Republic is one, for all that it contains within it different races and religions. It does not look on differences in worship with a hostile eye.

It is indivisible, for all that rivers and seas divide its provinces, which constitute a unitary, indissoluble body.

Concerning the Division of the People

Article 2

The Greek People, that is to say those people living in this Empire, without distinction of religion or language, is divided into primary assemblies in the districts, to put into practice its sovereign authority. That is to say they assemble in every province, to give their opinion on any problem.

Article 3

It is divided, for administrative convenience and so that justice shall be done everywhere in like manner, into provinces, districts and subdistricts. That is to say Thessaly is called a province, Magnesia (that is to say the villages of Volos) a district and subdistrict: the administration of Makrynitsa over twelve villages is a subdistrict.

Concerning the Class of Citizens

Article 4

Every man born and inhabiting this Empire, of the age of 21, is a citizen.

Every foreigner, truly aged twenty-one, who has lived in this Empire for a year and who lives by his labour, is a citizen.

He who buys landed property is a citizen.

He who marries a Greek woman is a citizen.

He who takes an adopted child is a citizen.

He who speaks colloquial Greek or the ancient tongue and helps Greece, even if he lives in the Antipodes (for the Greek leaven has spread to the two hemispheres) is a Greek and a citizen.

He who is a Christian and does not speak colloquial or ancient Greek, but only assists Greece, is a citizen.

And finally every foreigner whom the government considers to be a worthy inhabitant of the Motherland, that is to say as a good craftsman, a diligent teacher, a worthy soldier, is received in the Motherland and can share equally in the rights which all citizens share.

A foreign philosopher or European technician, who has left his homeland and has come to live in Greece, with the object of passing on his wisdom or craft, is not only considered as a genuine citizen, but at public expense a marble statue with the emblems of his teaching or his art is to be erected, and the wisest Greek scribe is to write his life.

Article 5

Whoever has become a native in a foreign kingdom or who does not help his Motherland from there in whatever manner he can, but is indifferent to its commands, loses the rights of a citizen. So does he who accepts office, service or gifts from the hand of a tyrant. Such a man is no longer called a citizen, but a traitor, wherefore he should be far removed and confidence is not be placed in him. Moreover, he who has erred and is brought to judgement according to law, loses his rights until he has been acquitted.

On the other hand he who, having stayed in foreign lands has learnt an art or has studied a science, seamanship or, above all, military tactics and who returns to the Motherland is a worthy citizen, a praiseworthy inhabitant and the dearest human on the earth to his fellow citizens. His name, with the city which gave him being, and the race, is to be inscribed in the public codex, not only as a citizen, but also as a benefactor of the Motherland. And let him immediately be given an office according to his merit.

Article 6

The use of the rights of the citizen remains inoperative when he is summoned to judgment, and for as long as the judgment lasts, until it has finished for his benefit.

Concerning the Sovereignty of the People

Article 7

The sovereign people consists of all the inhabitants of this Empire, without distinction of religion and speech, Greeks, Bulgarians, Albanians, Wallachians, Armenians, Turks and every other kind of race.

Article 8

This people alone names its delegates to the common Council of the Nation.

Article 9

This [people] gives authority to those chosen from among it, to choose public law-makers, criminal judges and the remaining officers.

Article 10

This people decides if the appointed laws are good for its happiness, and if they are good it guards them; if it has reason to speak against, it puts forward to the government what it is that upsets it. [. . .]

Concerning the Powers of the Republic

Article 107

The general power of the Republic consists in the entire Nation.

Article 108

The Republic supports with its expenses, in time of war and peace, an armed force on land and sea.

Article 109

All the Greeks are soldiers; all must drill with arms and shoot at targets. All must learn tactics. And Greek women should also carry spears if they are not skilled with the rifle.

Article 110

There should not be any general-in-chief, that is to say to have all the powers of the Republic, on land and sea, in his hand.

Article 111

The difference of military ranks (that is to say *khiliarkhos,* general) which officers have, their separate insignia and the obedience of the private soldiers, is only for the duration of the war. As soon as it finishes, however, all are equal and brothers.

Article 112

The public power, which is appointed to keep the peace and good order in

the Republic, functions only in accordance with the written request of the legally decreed administrators.

Article 113

The public power [which is] appointed against the external enemies of the Motherland acts according to the commands of the Executive Administration.

Article 114

No body of armed men has permission to make decisions, nor to command, but only to carry out that which is commanded through written orders of the rulers. [. . .]

Concerning Relations between the Greek Republic and Foreign Nations

Article 118

The Greek People is a friend and natural ally of free nations.

Article 119

The Greeks do not intervene in the government of other nations, but neither is it possible for them to intervene in its own affairs. They honour the ambassadors and consuls of all the nations found in this Empire. They assure them a sojourn without fear, they respect their merchants and do not interfere with their merchant ships, when they do not have enemy material.

Article 120

They receive all wronged foreigners and all those exiled from their Motherland for the sake of Freedom. They denounce and do not receive or care for tyrants.

Article 121

They do not ever make peace with an enemy who occupies Greek territory.

Concerning the Guaranteeing and Assuring of these Rights

Article 122

The Legislative Administration assures to all Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Jews and all nationalities (who find themselves inhabitants in this Republic) equality, freedom, security, the control of the landed property of each, the public loans, which may be incurred for Freedom, the freedom of all religions, a common upbringing, public contributions there, where they belong, the unhampered freedom of the press, the right of each to petition and to complain, the right to gather in public companies and, lastly, the enjoyment of all the Rights of Man.

Article 123

The Greek Republic honours gentleness, bravery, age, filial piety, misfortune. The Republic places the preservation of this Legislative Administration to the ever-watchful custody of all the virtuous freedom-loving people, who, so as not to fall under the yoke of tyranny, have embraced the military life and, armed, have sworn eternal war against the tyrants.

Article 124

The declaration of the Rights of Man and this Legislative Act is to be carved on copper tablets which are to stand in the place where the Legislative Body meets. Such copies are to be made to stand in all the towns, provincial capitals and villages of the Republic, in the villages of the interior, where each hour each citizen sees in what consists the priceless treasure of his beloved freedom.

Annex

The flag, which is placed on the standards and pennants of the Greek Republic, is a club of Hercules with three crosses above. The standards and pennants are tricoloured, black, white and red; the red above, the white in the middle and the black below.

The red signifies the imperial purple and the sovereignty of the Greek People. Our ancestors used it as the dress of war, not wishing the wounds to be visible where blood flowed, so that the soldiers should not lose courage.

The white signifies the innocence of our righteous cause against the tyranny.

The black signifies our death for Motherland and Freedom.

All Greek soldiers wear a helmet on the head.

All Greek soldiers have a bayonet, which they wear at their middle as a dagger, and in time of need or battle they carry it on their rifles.

The dress of Greek soldiers is heroic; black trousers, white shirt and red breeches or socks.

Every Greek man and woman, and likewise each inhabitant of this Republic, must wear on his helmet or cap a similar club, as is in the beginning, written or embroidered on a white cloth, or it may be of brass. This is the sign by which free republicans and equal brethren are to be known.

9:4 KONSTANTINOS STAMATIS: APPEAL TO THE IONIAN ISLANDERS (1799)

The Patriot Eleftheriadis to the Ionian Islanders

Aikaterini Koumarianou, 'Energeies tou Konstantinou Stamati gia tin apeleftherosi tis Ellados, 1798–1799', *Praktika Tritou Panioniou Synedriou* (Athens, 1967) pp. 171–4.

Open your eyes, friends and islanders, see with horror the abyss into which ignorance, credulity, the illusory superstition or rather your blind faith in the Muscovites has submerged you. You, who are, up to now, the hope of the Motherland, the first trophy of freedom, the secret joy of the wretched fellow countrymen who groan in silence under the yoke. You first, O eternal shame of my Nation, have betrayed your brave defenders, you have trampled under your feet the symbols of their glory, you have run unanimously and with open arms to welcome the chains of tyranny, you have received with joy and courtesy the savage horde who came to enslave you.

While in France the Legislative Assembly and the Directory, wishing to number you in the list of departments where general, national happiness reigns, sought to raise up the Ionian Islands from the depths of ruin which the barbarity of the Turks had imposed on the surface of Greece, so that they should be what they were of old, that is to say famed for their cultivation, renowned for their trade and wealth, noted for their bravery and the number of their inhabitants, while above all, they intended to raise up in your regions the furnace where the thunderbolt was to be forged which was to be hurled against the barbarian Hagarenes, together with the arms of vengeance of the Greeks. At this very time, O the ingratitude of it, the Zakynthians, the Kephalonians, the Corfiots themselves, apostasised against their liberators, they have cheered the tyranny, they have

stridently called upon the [? . . .] of the *kaptan pasa* and the bloodthirsty Albanians of the tyrant of Thessaly [Ali Pasa] [. . .]

Look at the mainland and at the islands. The most fertile part of the universe under the tyranny of the Turks has been transformed into a frightful desert. One part is inhabited by wild beasts, the other by men even more wild, and the native indigenous Greeks, like frightened hares (an epithet which the slanderous arrogance of the Ottomans gives to the inhabitants of the Aegean sea) hide their existence as far as they can, to avoid the fangs of the insatiable beasts.

The Ottoman tyranny spoils, withers the powers of the spirit of nations, and the natural bounty of the places where they dwell. To be informed of the truth of this matter, examine the state in which the island of Cyprus now finds itself, in comparison with what it was of old, and how much it has been transformed not from the time of the Hellenes, but from when it passed from the Venetians to the Turks. The inhabitants of Cyprus were very numerous and rich, the notables lived in a most dignified manner, the farmers with abundance of their needs and the simple villagers had at least a spoon, a silver cup, a copper cooking-pot. Today they barely scrape a little cotton, silk and wine, snatching these from the *ayans, agas* and *zabits* who fleece the Christians. The salts which were such a trade for Venice do not yield the smallest revenue to the Turks.

The Greeks, enslaved everywhere, have no political rights, no privileges, they do not acquire any distinction or office, unless they deny their religion, unless they betray their Motherland, and for all this they are despised as being unclean, condemned to death by the law of Mohamed as prisoners of war. They buy their own lives by paying the hated *harac*, whose inscription is this: temporary ransom of the head of such and such a *raya* for so many *grosia*, which is to say that to breathe the air which is the gift of divine providence we are obliged to pay to the impious Ottoman, for the right to live, a gift for our own existence. The witness of a Greek before a judge does not count for anything, when a Muslim testifies to the contrary. Even the colour of our clothing is determined by the tyranny of the Turks, to remind us every minute that we are their slaves. Our very houses are painted black to announce to foreigners our worthlessness, or rather the mourning of our Motherland. [. . .]

You hope that your friends the Russians, since they are co-religionists, will defend you, O deceived and blind people. Read Article 17 of the Treaty of (Küçük) Kaynarca. Was it not the first article that the Turks violated, was it not the only one whose implementation the Russians did not seek? [. . .]

France swore the extermination of the barbarians, France kept her word, and never deceived the hopes of the nations she liberated. Attach yourselves to her omnipotence, run to arms, unite firmly with the heroes

who defend the last breath of your liberty. Remember Thermopylae, the three hundred companions of Leonidas, the phalanx of Pelopidas, finally the achievements of those few Souliots in our times, who put to rout the proud Ali Paşa and all his Albanians. Imitate, at least, your compatriots who at this moment shed their blood for the freedom of Egypt, under the command of the admirable Bonaparte [. . .]

10 'Social Banditry': The Memoirs of Theodoros Kolokotronis

[Elizabeth Mayhew] Edmonds, *Kolokotrones, the Klepht and the Warrior* . . . (London, 1892) p. 83 ff.

I was born in the year 1770. It was the 3rd of April, and it was Easter Tuesday. The revolt of the Albanians in the Peloponnesus had taken place in the previous year of 1769. I was born under a tree on the hill called Ramavouni, in the district of old Messenia. My father, Kostantes Kolokotrones, had been a captain of the Armatoli in Corinth, a post which he held for the space of four years. He left Corinth, however, to go to Mani, and whilst at Mani he harried the Turks greatly. [. . .]

Kostantes Kolokotrones, my father, was wounded by a sword-thrust at the time of the sally, and was afterwards killed through the treachery of a Turkish friend. His head was never recovered. The murderers who slew him concealed his body for the sake of the property which they found upon him. Three years afterwards his body was dug up, and every one knew that it was the body of Kostantes Koloktrones because one of his little fingers had a crook in it, in consequences of a cut from a Turkish sabre years before. They had hidden him in a hollow between Arna and Kotzatina, and he was afterwards interred again at Melia. My father was exceedingly dark and very thin, so swift of foot that the most speedy stallion could never overtake him; he was thirty-three years of age at the time of his death, and was of middle height, black-eyed, and slim. The Albanians held him in so great a terror that they swore by his name. 'May I be saved from the sword of Kolokotrones!' was their favourite oath. It was said that before he was slain he had killed with his own hand seven hundred Turkish irregulars. [. . .]

We remained some time at Melia in Mani with my uncle Anagnostes, and I bought back the two enslaved children, my brothers Gianni and Chrestos. One of them had been taken to Hydra; and we stayed in Mani three years. We had sustained many losses, and our other uncles on our mother's side, who were called the Kotsakaioi, came to us and took us away with them to Alonistaina. We managed to get away without being recognized, for we were in great fear of the Turks. My uncle Anagnostes afterwards went to Sampazika, in the district of Leontari, which is at the

extremity of Mani. He there allied himself with George Metaxa, a native of the place, and a prefect, and a good shot, to whom he gave his daughter in marriage, and he then built himself a house. Hearing that my uncle had established himself at Akovo, we left where we were and went and settled ourselves there. We stayed there some time, and the submitted Klephts appointed me Armatolos of Leontari to act against the other Klephts, and I managed the province with leniency. I was then fifteen years old.

When I was twenty years of age I married the daughter of the chief primate of Leontari, a man who had been ruined by a Pasha in Nauplia. As I received in dowry both olive-trees and a vineyard, I built houses and settled down as a householder, but I still took care of my Armatolik, and always went about with a gun, for the Turks envied us and wished to slay us all; they were not able to do so because our place was situated on the heights. They therefore kept up a continual warfare against us by craft and subtlety. At one time they sent out one hundred, and upon another occasion two hundred soldiers to attack us, but as these were not able to get us wholly in their power, they did not carry out this attempt. I saw, however, that if they continually found that artifices failed they would at last come against us openly. We received information of this, and fled away from the place. After we had left, the Turks went and destroyed all our possessions, and issued orders that wherever we were found we were to be destroyed likewise.

I now found myself with twelve of the Kolokotroni, all younger than myself, so we took our families to Mani and left them there; and then we rose up openly as Klephts, and got together our soldiers, sometimes sixty in number, and sometimes less. We remained Klephts for two years straight off, and afterwards, when they found they could do nothing against us, they offered us the Armatolik again. I had Leontari and Karytaina given into my charge, and I remained there as an Armatolos four or five years. [. . .]

In the year 1802 a firman came, which commanded that we two, Petimeza and myself, should be killed. This was set in motion by a voivode in Patras. The firman said, 'Either your two heads or the heads of the chiefs.' Whereupon the vizier of Tripolitsa summoned the father of Zaimes and Deligianni. Zaimes obeyed the summons, but Deligianni was very much afraid. He took an oath to them both that it had nothing at all to do with them. I had accompanied Deligianni as far as Tripolitsa, and as we were returning together I said to Deligianni, 'I do not believe that the firman is for us;' and he replied, 'Do not fear.' The Pasha, however, only sent for those two, and he read the firman to them. 'You must give us time,' they said, 'for these are wild men.' Old Zaimes Asemakes, however, had Petimeza quite in his power, because he went down to Kalavryta daily, but for myself I never went to Karytaina. The two primates said that they

must make themselves masters of the wild one (Kolokotrones), and that afterwards they could easily get the tame one (Petimeza). Deligianni made two of the primates take an oath that they would kill me. That was rather difficult to manage, because I was always very cautious. They had a conference with Velemvitsa, and swore him in first; but he replied, 'I do not agree with the killing of those men; we shall destroy the province.' They did not change their minds, however. They then brought one Bouloubases with his Albanians into Karytaina. I had my suspicions about this proceeding, and went to pay a visit to a primate in Stemnitsa. 'What do you want with the Albanian Bouloubases here?' I asked; 'he won't become of your opinion.' The Albanian then came into Stemnitsa, and I went there also, taking with me fifty of my men. I had an interview with Bouloubases, when I said to him, 'They are trying to set us at loggerheads: tame fowl cannot chase away wild ones. Though all fly away, the sparrow still remains.'

That circumstance fortunately brought old Kolias to me, who came with his son Koliopoulos. We now numbered two hundred, and our own men joined us at Magoulia. Anagnostes Bakales, a primate at Garzeniko, derided the Turks and sent me continual information. I wrote to the two primates (before-mentioned) to send me news also, and to advise me what to do, but they only wrote me lies; and I procured some guns and ammunition from Demetri. Bouloubases, with his force of two hundred picked men, surprised us, however, at Kerpeni, when we were only forty altogether. I marched outside the village and shut myself up in a monastery at Kermitsa; but if I had remained there I should have been utterly lost, so I left and got away to the wild parts of the country.

Meanwhile they slew Petimeza in Kalavryta, and sent his head to Tripolitsa. We killed some Turks, however, at Magouliana, and we also burnt some of their villages. The primates whereupon appealed to Kolias, asking him to persuade us to make some agreement, whereby everything might be pacified. I was therefore taken back into the Armatolik service again. Deligianni had been trying for three or four months to effect our ruin, but he had not succeeded.

So, in the month of September, I again entered the Armatolik. Deligianni at this time found an opportunity of wreaking his spite. He had a friend in Lala, one Hassan Aga Phida, and he besought him to slay us – treacherously, of course, because we were Armatoli. We had placed our families now in Palouba, and old Kolias, who had discovered the treachery, sent us information that the Lalians were coming down upon us. I was in a village called Tourkokerpeni when I received this news, and I cast about in my mind how I could unravel this secret movement which was astir for the purpose of overthrowing us, and I thought it over during the whole of the night. The Turks came up and seized upon two roads, sending out two separate bodies, each with two hundred men, in order to

entrap me in an ambuscade. I had a traitor about me, and he came to us to see if we were on the move, or if we were sleeping. I had hoped to have been able to send a defiance to them in the morning, but in the morning we found ourselves surrounded in a village. I had given my clothes to an adopted son. We were rejoicing at the return of day, when lo! I saw the Turks drawing nigh. We seized our guns, but as we were endeavouring to get to the back of the hill, my adopted son had eight balls fired into him. My brother Gianni was also wounded. We then shut ourselves up in three houses, and I stationed myself in the cellar. In all we numbered thirty-eight. The second body of two hundred coming up they surrounded us. We fought through the whole of that day, but at nightfall we sallied forth and fled. This occurred on the 7th of March, in the year 1804.

In the year 1805 I left for Zante. The Emperor Alexander of Russia had sent an invitation to the Greeks to take service in his armies.

All of us, both Souliotes and Roumeliotes and we Peloponnesians, had framed an address to the Emperor to ask him to give us help so that we might set our country free. Anagnostaras was very active in getting up this address. The Souliotes and Roumeliotes were in Parga, but Anagnostaras got together a force of five thousand Peloponnesians for the army at once. I went to Zante. When the answer to the address came – that was in August – I had an interview with the general of the Russian army, and he told me that he had arranged to receive into the Russian service as many Greeks as chose to enter, for the express purpose of fighting Napoleon.

'Then, for my part,' I answered, 'I shall not enter the service. What concern is it of mine in regard to Napoleon? If you, however, want men for the purpose of aiding us to free our own country, I can promise you from five to ten thousand soldiers. We were once baptized with oil, and we have since been baptized with blood, and yet again will we be baptized in blood for the deliverance of our fatherland!'

I stayed in Zante a fortnight, but I would not consent to that measure. I left twenty-eight of my comrades behind, and my nephew Niketas, a son of my brother Gianni Kolokotrones. The other Greek soldiers enlisted, and were sent to Naples.

When the Turks saw this movement they sent information to the Sultan, and expressed to him all their suspicions about it. The Sultan thereupon conceived the idea of taking some summary acts of vengeance on the people. The patriarch (of Constantinople) intervened, saying, 'What have the people done? Better that we kill the prime movers and the evildoers;' and so he was turned away from his purpose.

The opinion of the Turks coalesced with the convictions of the French Cabinet, which had advised Turkey to make an end of all those captains called Klephts, and to get rid of the captains of the sea-vessels also, or else at some time or other they would cause a rising.

The Sultan, following this advice, issued a firman to slay all the

Klephts. At the same time the patriarch was compelled to issue an excommunication against them, in order to stir up the whole people; and by these means the Peloponnesians, whether Turks or Romaics, were all excited against the Kolokotroni.

I had gone to Zante in August, and I had left it in September, and returned, and in the following January, in the year 1806, came the orders to hunt us all down. Petimeza, Gianni, and Zacharias were already gone from us, and we were now only a hundred and fifty men in all. [. . .]

The kind of life which we had already led aided us much throughout the war of Liberation, because we knew all the passes on the hills, and we knew the habits and ways of men. We had been accustomed to hold the Turks in contempt, and we were inured to hunger and thirst, suffering, filth, and every other privation.

I arrived in Zante in May. After a month's sojourn there I learnt that Pappadopoulos, the general of the Russian forces, had come into the island of Corfu, and he sent for me and asked me to enter the service. I replied, 'I do not intend to enter the Russian service, because my purpose is to return to the Morea and avenge the slaughter of my kindred, and the injuries which I have sustained myself. I could not take an oath, and afterwards become a perjurer by fleeing away secretly.' So I returned to Kastro, and remained there ten months without any employment.

I entrusted a letter to one Rontikes, a native of Magoulia, which he was to take to my family, in order that he should obtain and bring me all the property which I had placed with different men. He took it and went, but he showed it to Deligianni, and Deligianni showed it to the voivode, in consequence of which all my goods were lost. That was in 1807.

All the soldiers, and captains, and the Roumeliot Klephts in a body had fled to the seven islands [Ionian Islands] about the same time as my own flight took place. Russia had declared war against Turkey, and commanded all the soldiers to go into Roumeli to attack the Turks. I immediately tried to go to Santa Maura [Levkas], where they were all assembled, and get as many of them as I could for myself and then return to the Peloponnesus. There were two regiments in the service of Russia, one composed of Maniotes, at the head of whom was the son of Pierrakes Samet Bey, and the other was a body of Peloponnesians commanded by Anagnostaras. These were still in Zante. Pappadopoulos had ordered them to fit out a vessel of war. When they had made it ready and I could go in it to Santa Maura, Anagnostaras, the Petimezaioi, Giannaki Kolokotrones, Melios, and others came down to me and said, 'Do not go, we shall get permission to have a ship for ourselves, and if thou desirest, thou canst go in her.' They found a Turkish boat with two cannons, and they bought her and appointed me to be captain.

I took out passports, and went to the government office of the Republic of Corfu, and there they gave me permission to attack the Turks either by sea or land. I took eighty soldiers for land service, and went down to a place called Achaia, near Patras, and burnt the houses, possessions, and magazines of Saitaga, and returned to Zante. The inhabitants of Zante, however, were obliged to import food from the Peloponnesus, and therefore they petitioned the government and begged it not to attack the Morea, as in consequence of that the Turks would not admit any of them who went thither for the purpose of trading. The government prevented me in consequence from making any assaults by land, and ordered me only to carry on the war at Santa Maura.

I met Pappadopoulos with Synevi at Corfu. He was making preparations to attack Constantinople in conjunction with the English. I gave him a little of my opinion – namely, that there were twelve hundred Russians and five thousand Greeks in the service of the seven islands, that they had twelve vessels in the Baltic and the Black Seas, and forty other vessels, both brigs and frigates, which had been got together for the purpose of attacking Buonaparte, so that with ten thousand of the islanders we should number altogether twenty-five thousand men with six ships in the Gulf of Corinth, and others at Egina, and that with these forces we could sail away, and then I would undertake that in two months I would free the Peloponnesus.

General Pappadopoulos received my proposition, and laid it before Synevi Motzenigo, the national primate, Benakes, the vice-admiral, Deli, and General Atrem. Pappadopoulos took it to the council, and Benakes opposed it, saying, 'I will not have my country lost a second time even for my father's sake.' Motzenigos said, 'We must go with the English and strike at the head, which is Constantinople, and afterwards, when we have struck the head, all the rest is ours.' This opinion was therefore accepted and mine thrown over.

Synevi went to Tenedo, and the English to Constantinople, but rather as if they were going upon an excursion than for any warlike purposes. The Turks were met by the Russians at Tenedo, and after one battle the Turkish fleet was destroyed. [. . .]

Ali Pharmakes then came to Zante. He had asked permission to go and see his villages until Kolokotrones could come, he said, and he took with him five hundred thousand *grosia*; and we sent a boat for him, and that is how he got to Zante. We planned to go to Paris together in order to have an interview with Buonaparte, and we went to Corfu in the first instance; but Donzelot, the governor there, prevented us from so doing. 'Stay here,' he said, 'and I will write myself, and state that you require an answer. We must, however, arrange our plans before the answer of the Emperor arrives.' The plan which we made in conjunction with Donzelot was as

follows: that Buonaparte should give us the command of five hundred gunners clothed in fustanellas (for there were five thousand Greeks in the French service), and that he should also give us *grosia* in order to make enlistments in Tsamouria, where there were enemies of Ali Pasha. We crossed over to Tsamouria and got three thousand Tsamides for pay, and then went to Parga and embarked them for Santa Maura. The gathering was intended to take place at Santa Maura and Zante. I crossed over to Santa Maura myself with six hundred men.

At this time (on the 9th) the English came to Zante, and, disembarking, they established themselves there, and sent away the French to Corfu. About four hundred Greeks were put into the boats as prisoners of war. They also took Cephalonia, Ithaki, and Cerigo, and made them their own. General Oswald had orders from the generalissimo of the English forces, who was then in Palermo, to take into the service all the Greeks who were willing to join, and to put Church (who was then major) at their head.

When we saw that the English had come into the islands we sent word to Parga to enlist no more soldiers, as our plans were frustrated by their arrival. Our scheme was to get all the forts in Messenia, Parga, and Monemvasia placed in our hands. All the Turkish inhabitants of those places had agreed at a conference we had with them, that we should form a government, consisting of twelve Turks and twelve Greeks – the Turks to be governed with the same impartiality as the Greeks. Donzelot had framed the laws in conjunction with ourselves. Our flag was to have been a cross on one side, and on the other a half-moon and stars. This plan also formulated that when we had secured the Morea we should write to the Sultan to assure him that our action was not against him, but against the tyrannies of Ali Pasha, and Donzelot had already advised with the minister at Constantinople to prevent him from making any movement.

It was my own private intention, however, that when we had got possession of all the forts, we should then make it a more national movement, and throw over the Turks; but what I resolved upon doing would have to depend upon circumstances. Our measures would have necessitated raising fifteen thousand of the islanders. Donzelot, myself, Ali Pharmakes, and a secretary were three days and three nights laying out our plans. [. . .]

I was born in the year 1770.

When I was saved at Kastanitza I was ten years old; I lived at Mani two years, three years at Alonisthaina, and twelve years in Sampazika. I was married when I was twenty, and I was twenty-seven when they first began to hunt me down. The royal firman against Petimeza and myself came over in 1802, and the second firman with the patriarchal excommunication in January, 1806. I was thirty-six years old when I went to Zante, and fifty years of age when I embarked in the war of liberation.

When we were Klephts and Armatoli our chief officers were always chosen for their courage and ability. Whilst we were Armatoli we had our pay, and when we where Klephts the half of the spoils. Prizes were given to those who distinguished themselves. If any of them committed a fault his hair was cut short, and his arms were taken from him. Reverence for women was our law: whoever insulted a woman was driven out from us. We had games and drums to amuse ourselves with, jumping, dances, heroic songs, and quoits. The country people made our songs, and we sung them to the lyre. The songs were our hymns and our military newspapers.

Our arms were pistols, daggers, and swords carried on our belts. We had jambes on the legs, and in the winter we wore breast-plates, and we also had large buttons on our waistcoats. The captainships descended to the sons – not to the first-born, but to the most worthy.

Our flag had the same cross as that upon the Russian banners. The monasteries gave us help, and the husbandmen and shepherds always sent information to the Klephts, as well as giving them ammunition and provisions. When any of us was seriously wounded in a battle and could not be carried away, we all kissed him and then cut off his head. It was thought a great dishonour to have the Turks bear away one's head. Among the thirty-six first cousins whom I had, only eight were preserved; the others were all destroyed. There is not a spot where there is not a Kolokotrones buried. Besides those, there were my second cousins, uncles, and many friends who were lost. The name of *Klepht* was a boast, '*I am a Klepht*,' some would say vauntingly. The prayer of a father for his sons was that he might become a Klepht. The Klephtship afterwards lost its authority. In my father's time it was a sacred thing for a Greek to undertake. When the Klephts had a collision with the Turks all the husbandmen left their oxen in the fields, and went to help the Klephts – every time the Greeks were disposed to ally themselves with the Turks. When Androutsos, the father of Odysseus, came, I was well known in Mani, and I accompanied him to Corinth. During the time that we were being pursued, for fifteen days we neither slept nor tasted food, and we had fighting every day, but we saved our guns. [. . .]

I then saw that what we had to do we must do by ourselves, without any hopes of help from foreign Powers. Church went to Naples and became a general there. He sent me two invitations to join him, but I now knew that the Hetairia [*Philiki Etairia*] was formed, and I determined henceforward to devote myself only to freeing my own country.

Pangalos spoke to me about the Hetairia, and Aristeides came, and afterwards Anagnostaras brought me a letter from the Hetairia, and I bogan to act in concert with many in Zante and Cephalonia, and also with the captains of the Speziote and Hydriote vessels; and twenty letters at least came to me from Ypsilanti, bidding me hold myself in readiness with

all my people, as the day of the rising was fixed for the 25th of March. The English heard that I had received some letters, and the police came at night to search me, but I had taken good care of my letters.

On the 6th of January [1821] I went to Mani to the house of Captain Panagiotes, the son of Mourtzinos. But at this juncture, before I went to the Peloponnesus, I passed over to Corfu, with the view of seeking from Maitland my four thousand dollars, the pay due to me, and also to meet Kapodistria. I met him, and stayed with him eighty days, after which I returned to Zante. We talked much about the position of affairs.

Here ends my past life – at the commencement of the rising. Whatever foreign service I had before entered into, I only entered it upon these conditions: that I was never to be sent far from the seven islands, never to fight except upon Turkish ground, and never to lay aside my national dress. In the islands I met with the Botzares, and took Markos for my adopted brother.

In my youth, when I had time to learn, there were not many schools. There were only a few schools where I could learn reading and writing. The primates of the different districts hardly knew how to write their own names, and even archbishops knew scarely anything beyond their ecclesiastical duties – they had studied nothing more than the psalter, the Octoechos, the book of the months and the prophecies; they read no other books. It was not until I went to Zante that I met with the history of Greece. The books which I often read afterwards were the history of Greece, the tale of Aristomenes and Gorgo, and the story of Skenter Bey.

According to my judgment, the French Revolution and the doings of Napoleon opened the eyes of the world. The nations knew nothing before, and the people thought that kings were gods upon the earth, and that they were bound to say that whatever they did was well done. Through this present change it is more difficult now to rule the people.

In my time commerce was very limited, money was scarce. I gained three grosia on a dollar. It was thought a great thing if a person possessed a thousand grosia. Any one with such a sum could command as much service for it as he could not procure now for a thousand Venetian florins. The community of men was small, and it was not until our rising that all the Greeks were brought into communication. There were men who knew of no place beyond a mile of their own locality. They thought of Zante as we now speak of the most distant parts of the world. America appears to us as Zante appeared to them. They said it was in France. [. . .]

11 Revolutionary Conspiracy: the 'Philiki Etairia'

11:1 INITIATION RITUALS AND THE GREAT OATH OF THE *PHILIKI ETAIRIA* (? 1815)

Documente privind Istoria Romîniei – Răcoala din 1821. Eteria în Principatele Romîne, ed. A. Oţetea *et al.*, (Bucharest, 1960) IV, pp. 32–9.

Part I

If you know a Greek who is a true lover of the freedom of his country and is a worthy person, and you know that he is not a member of any other secret society whatever, and that he wishes to be enrolled in our Society, not motivated by curiosity, or other such cause, but by true patriotism, then you can give him an undertaking that you will receive him into the Society.

And first you make him a blood brother, with the holy and sacred Gospel, and with the symbols (if perhaps you find yourself far from the Motherland, that is to say Greece, and you cannot do this through a priest). Then you explain the symbols and words to him, and he is obliged to become the blood brother of whichever member of the Society he chances to meet.

Second, three or more days later you present him to a priest, to whom you say that you wish to swear in this man, whether what he says about some known matter is true, (and aside so that the priest may not hear) you dictate the oath, and he repeats it three times with a loud voice. Afterwards you ask him in a loud voice, in the hearing of the priest, if those things which he repeated three times are true, and he should reply: they are and they will be true, and as a bond of my promises I swear by the Holy and Sacred Gospel. The priest should then ask him these words, and if once again he replies in this way, the priest puts him on oath according to ecclesiastical law ([which] allows Greeks far from Greece to include in the oath-taking a priest of the Western church, in the absence of an orthodox priest of the Eastern Church).

Third, after the oath you take him to a secret place and question him in

detail and with the greatest accuracy according to the appointed way of questioning.

Fourth, you ask him to think carefully if he is suitable and capable of keeping the secret even in danger, if need be, of his own life, because the things he is about to hear are sacred things, on which hangs the fate of the nation itself, and that on joining the Society he should have before his eyes death and all the harsh sufferings, and also the need to which he is subject to kill any traitor to the Society whoever he may be, without the exception even of his closest relatives. Finally he should consider that every other bond or obligation which he might have is as nothing to the bond of the Society and, morever, if he thinks that he is unable to give a decision about this, it is still within his power to withdraw from being a member of the Society.

Fifth, you explain to him the scope of the Society without loquacity and without any addition. Afterwards you leave him and say to him that on the morrow you will meet to say some articles [of the Confession] to him and that he should not forget to bring a small yellow candle. This should take place at night with extreme care not to give the slightest suspicion. On this day it is not permitted for you to have an extended talk with him.

The First Oath

I swear in the name of the truth and of justice before the Supreme Being to guard (sacrificing my own life, bearing patiently the most harsh tortures), in every respect, the power of the freedom of the secret that is about to be explained to me and that I shall answer the truth to whatever I may be asked.

Confession

(a) How do you live and where do you come from?
(b) What relatives do you have, what is your calling and what is your state [in life]?
(c) Have you ever quarrelled with one of your friends, or anyone else?
(d) Did you make it up and how did these things come to be?
(e) Are you married, have you an inclination to marry?
(f) Are you in love, were you ever in love, did you break this off, and if so when?
(g) Has damage to, or a change in, your state in life occurred?
(h) Are you happy in your calling, and what would you rather do?
(i) Have you some faithful friend, and who is he?
(j) How do you intend to live now, and in the future?

The Object of the Society
The Society consists of true Greek patriots and is called the Society of Friends. The object of its members is the betterment of the nation, and if God permits it, its freedom (the proselyte after the usual confession and sworn catechism is called a *ierefs* of the Friends).

Part II

After one or two days you come quietly to a safe place and first you put on the table an icon, on which the proselyte leaves his candle. Afterwards you say to him that if he does not consider himself to have sufficient strength, then he still has time to withdraw, and that from the bond he is about to accept only death can free him, and that after a short time repentance will be unforgivable. After this he kneels, on his right knee only, near the table. After he has made the sign of the cross three times to himself, you give him the icon to kiss and you place upon it his right hand, open, and you yourself light the yellow candle and put out every other light. Afterwards you give the candle to him which he, taking, holds in his left hand, and you say to him, 'This candle is the only witness, which our unfortunate country has, when its children swear the oath of freedom,' and as you trace the whole sign of the life-giving cross, you both begin, you to read, he to repeat the great oath, with all the respect appropriate to the holiness and gravity of the matter. When you have finished the oath and its repetition, you place your right hand on his left shoulder and with your left hand you raise up the *icon*, which he holds with his right hand, and you speak forth the following: 'Before the invisible and omnipresent true God, who is the fount of all justice, the avenger of wrongdoing and the punisher of wickedness against the rules of the *Philiki Etairia* [Society of Friends] and, with the strength which the great priests of Eleusis gave, I dedicate . . . of . . . years old . . ., a . . . by calling, and I receive him as a member as I was received into the Society of Friends.' After the dedication the yellow candle is snuffed out and you command him to guard it well, for straight away it is to be used and further to be carried about with him as the witness of his sworn promises, and [you say] that another time you will explain to him the elements and symbols of the *ierefs*.

Great Oath
'I voluntarily swear before the true God that I want to be faithful to the Society in every respect and for all time. I will not reveal the least of the symbols, nor of the words, nor will I ever give them to understand that I

know anything about these things in any way, neither to any relative, nor to my confessor, nor to any friend.

I swear that in the future I will not enter any other society, whatever it might be, nor into any debt of obligation, but certainly that whatever obligation I might have in the world, including the most irrelevant to the Society, I wish to consider as nothing.

I swear that I will nourish in my heart undying hatred towards the tyrants of my country, their followers and those who think like them, I want to carry out in all ways damage towards them and, when circumstances permit, their complete ruination.

I swear that I will never be over hasty in making myself known to a comrade, but I will use extreme caution lest I be mistaken, and lest anything untoward happen.

I swear that wherever I find a comrade, I will aid and assist him to the extent of my power and situation, that I will offer respect and obedience to him, if he is of a superior grade, and if by chance he happened before to have been an enemy of mine, the more will I love him and help him, the greater was my emnity.

I swear that, just as I was received into the Society, so I wish to receive brethren, (that) I will use every means and every caution until I know whether he is indeed a devoted Hellene, and a defender of our unfortunate homeland, a virtuous and good man, worthy to keep the secret and to catechise someone else.

I swear that in no way will I benefit from the Society's money, but I will consider it as a holy matter and as a pledge, belonging to all my wretched nation, as also the sealed letters that are received and sent.

I swear that I will never ask any member of the Society who received him into the Society, nor will I reveal nor let him know my sponsor, and if perhaps I recognise the symbol in the letters of introduction of someone, I will pretend that I did not know.

I swear that I will always take care to be virtuous in my conduct, I will be reverent in my religion, without despising others, that I will always give a good example, that I will help, advise and assist the sick, the unfortunate and the weak, that I will respect the justice, customs, laws and rulers of the country in which I find myself.

Finally, I swear to you, O holy and wretched Motherland! I swear by your long years of suffering. I swear by the bitter tears, which your wretched children have shed for such centuries! By my own tears, which flow at this minute! To the future freedom of my compatriots I dedicate all myself to you! In the future you will be the cause and object of my thoughts, your name the guide of my actions and your happiness the reward of my efforts! Let divine justice empty over my head all the thunderbolts of its justice, let my name be held in contempt and myself be

the object of the curse of anathema of my compatriots, if I should forget for one moment their misfortunes and if I do not fulfil my duty and let death be the inevitable punishment for my sin, so as not to defile the sanctity of the Society with my participation.'

Part III

On the morrow you explain to him the means of recognition, those which are used for the *systimenoi*, and the symbols of the *iereis*. You give him to copy the first teaching, the first oath, the articles of the first confession, the objects of the Society, the continuation of the teaching, the great oath. And after the copying, which should be done with the symbols of the *iereis*, in order and with care, and after accurate inspection of the document and confession in Article 5 (of which you should take a detailed and extensive answer), afterwards you say to him that he should offer to the Society a certain amount of money, such as his patriotism would induce him. Together with the money he should give you a letter, addressed to whatever name he wishes, for a distant city (not however such a strange one, that its strangeness could arouse curiosity and suspicion) in which he should reveal his age, calling, his place of birth, and that he has given you this sum to send to his unfortunate friend, or to the newly founded school, or to some monastery, or for the publication of books, or for another reason. Signing and indicating the date and place, he is to write this letter in your presence, and when you see that this [letter] contains all this which should be simply shown, tell him to put on it two signs of whatever kind he chooses, but clearly written, not very small, not very big, the first one to be known as the [sign of] dedication, which he is never to use, the second, [the sign] of his enrolment, he is to use only. Similarly he folds and seals it in front of you with the prescribed seal, writing the name of the addressee on the outside. The letter should be with double paper, sufficiently thin to be easily posted, but embellished so that the symbols cannot be observed. You give him a letter, [to the effect] that you have received such an amount of money and that you will send them it as he directed you with his signed letter, and indicating the date and place.

Second Confession

Article One. Are you, or any friend or relative being sought, by the justice of our homeland, or by anyone else, and for what reason?

Two. Do you have any relative or friend in prison and for what reason?

Three. Has any relative or friend of yours been killed by the government of our homeland, or by anyone else, and for what reason?

Four. Has anything great happened in your life?
Five. Do you know any great secret, or any invention, or anything else great and secret? Whence did you learn it? Do others know it and who are they? Do you have the necessary proofs? And what is it?
Six. Do you have any secret great talent, or any special skill?

Part IV

After copying the teaching up till here you tell him about the *systimenoi,* whose symbols of recognition were explained to him, that these are a group enrolled in the Society and are called with this name. The only indication of their membership in the Society is a letter of introduction (*systatikon),* that of the *iereis* is called a letter of supremacy. And they [the *systimenoi*] do not know them [the *iereis*] save that, being members of the Society, they are charged with the care of introducing patriots to them, so as to watch over the security of members, so as to cherish every beneficial idea. They [? the *systimenoi*] do not know, however, that there exist *adelphopoiitoi.* The *ierefs* of the Society must take great care so as not to give these [the *systimenoi*] to understand anything more, for they know nothing else than that it is a Society concerned with the common good of the nation. And if by the prescribed method, as is explained below, he asks someone he knows to be a *systimenos*, if he is a *ierefs* and sees that he does not know anything more, he has a duty in his association with him to lead the talk innocently to learn the name of his mother, which he should imprint firmly in his mind, and after the passage of days he should seek from him the *systatikon.* This man cannot give it to him without asking him for his letter of supremacy as a *ierefs*, which he should show from a distance. And later he receives the *systatikon* so as to inspect it, on the back of which is written the name of his mother, only by the symbols of the *iereis*, so that the *systimenos* is completely ignorant of the meaning of these letters, and no one else can know, except the person who wrote them. Further enquiry than this of a *systimenos* is not permitted to a *ierefs*, nor is he allowed to speak about the Society with him. If, however, by mischance he meets with someone whose name in the *systatikon* does not tally with the name he learnt from him he should at once suspect a trap, otherwise he has the duty to investigate the whole conduct, state and relationships of the suspect, noting his moral behaviour, the sign of the person who signed the *systatikon*, and with accuracy all that he learned about him, from him and from others, and to send this [information] without delay and safely, by the designated means, to the Society, not refraining subsequently from remarking or informing the same, so that the Society can take the necessary measures and put an end to the situation.

In a word, he has a sacred and essential obligation in such a circumstance to undertake all the necessary measures for the security of the Society. Finally you tell him that it is not permitted to the *iereis* of the Society to introduce anyone into the Society, for all that they are of much greater value than the *systimenoi.* Similarly they are not permitted to make anyone *adelphopoiitos*, except only he whom they know to be worthy to become a *ierefs* of the Society of Friends, and whom they will afterwards enroll, and thus wish that he be received into the Society, as they were received, or he, who having become a *ierefs*, did not have the opportunity to become an *adelphopoiitos.*

Part V

After this you explain to him the calendar of the Society of Friends which you will only use . . . your introductory letter with which he writes his own, and you sign in the prescribed manner. . . .* Afterwards you explain to him the symbols and words of the *iereis* unless . . . the manner of sending letters and money, from which each one supports his expenses, which he makes for this reason, informing him that if he finds another *ierefs*, he should explain to him all his written catechism, to check if it is accurate and in order, in order to inform and seek its correction from the beginning if any section is missing. You say to him further that the *ierefs* may withdraw one who has been catechised and to stop catechising him and explaining him anything up to the great oath, if perhaps he suspects the faith and healthiness of his views, for all that he has a duty first to confirm his worthiness, he can do this up to and beyond the great oath, without greatly incurring the wrath of the Society. If, however, he finds himself forced to halt the catechism towards the end, on account of the deep wickedness of the person being catechised, which he was unable to know in time, then he should be judged and punished by the deprivation of the privileges of *ierefs* and should never be promoted to a higher grade. The penalty for the infraction cannot be lessened, nor finally can the *ierefs* be acquitted, despite the rapid execution. . . . He should take certain and decisive measures for the general safety of the Society and particularly of each member, and rapidly informing those above or below, or the *arkhi,* or in this circumstance another priest, he has an essential duty to support with all his power . . . the circumstance. In this way the *iereis* among themselves and the *systimenoi* in the permitted circumstances help in the uncovering of a trap or deceit, in the ending of any sort of abuse and for whatever benefit to the Society generally and the members of it

* The original manuscript is defective here.

individually. Finally, you tell him that in whatever situation of worry, success, pursuit or misfortune he may find himself he should be guided by the founding principles which dictated and determined the whole system of the Society of Friends, and which [principles] are great patriotism, virtue, the general and individual safety and benefit of the Society, the complete dedication of all the members in general in it, and [further] the love, togetherness, faith and contribution of all the members between them for the preservation and implementation of these fundamental principles of the Society.

Following that, place him under oath in the known way.

'I swear as an honourable man, wishing the happiness of my fellow countrymen, on which my own happiness depends, in what is sacred and desirable in the world. Since I voluntarily became a member of the Society and I voluntarily gave sworn promises to it that I will keep them unfalteringly, I will be faithful to the end of my life to the whole Society in general and to each of its members individually, and in whatever circumstance of human uncertainty I find myself I will be guided by the fundamental principles which are imparted in the teaching which has been entrusted to me and everything I say I mean with the full meaning of the word.'

After the oath you embrace him and leave him to go wherever fate has decreed.

11:2 THE MEMOIRS OF EMMANOUIL XANTHOS, A FOUNDER MEMBER OF THE *PHILIKI ETAIRIA*

Emmanouil Xanthos, *Apomnimonevmata peri tis Philikis Etairias* (Athens, 1845) pp. 1–29.

Greece, during the whole duration of the Ottoman tyranny, although harshly oppressed on all sides, did not fail to give rise, from time to time, to freedom-loving and daring men, seeking her liberation.

Benakis, Krevatas, Zaimis and other Peloponnesians of blessed memory having failed during the year 1769, at the time a Russian fleet came, sent from the northern ports of that Empire under the command of Admiral Alexei Orlov, having promised to help them in their objective and having abandoned them despite their hope, saw, with deep sorrow in their soul, the destruction of half the Christian population of the Peloponnese and certain islands of the Archipelago. Rigas [Velestinlis] the Thessalian in 1796, encouraged by the promise of help from the French Republic, believed that he could unite Greeks and Turks for the destruction of tyranny. But he, having been betrayed, was arrested at Trieste, with his comrades in Vienna, and they, after being despatched to Belgrade, were

put to death by the Ottomans: But these examples, as also those of Papa Efthymios [Blakhavas] in 1808 and many others, did not discourage the Greeks in any way from imitating their example and benefiting from their failures.

Emmanouil Xanthos, from the island of Patmos, worked as a clerk from 1810 onwards with the wholesale merchant Vasileios Xenos in Odessa, and traded as a merchant. During 1812 he travelled from Odessa to Constantinople for commercial reasons. He founded, with some of the merchants there, Asimakis Krokydas, Khristodoulos Oikonomos and Kyriakos Bitzaktzis, all from Ioannina, a commercial company, leaving for Preveza at the begninning of 1813 to purchase oil. From there he proceeded to Ioannina to seek from Ali Paşa permission to purchase, through the intervention of such powerful officials as Manthos Oikonomos, brother of the above mentioned Khristodoulos, and Konstantinos Marinoglou, among his friends. Travelling later to Levkas, at the suggestion of his friend Panayiotakis Karayiannis, he was initiated into the Society of Freemasons.

Being a freedom-loving man and inspired by a continual hatred towards the Turkish tyranny, he immediately lighted upon the idea that it would be possible to found a secret society on the lines of that of the Freemasons, having as a basis the union of all the *kapetanioi* of the *armatoloi,* and other leaders of all classes of Greeks, whether in Greece or in other parts, with the object of bringing about, in time, the liberation of the Motherland.

After carrying out, then, his business undertakings in those parts, Xanthos returned to Odessa towards the beginning of November 1813. He befriended two countrymen who then happened to be there, Nikolaos Skouphas from Arta and Athanasios N. Tsakaloff from Ioannina (of the family, as he said, of the famous Tekelis), young men of patriotic and freedom-loving outlook. During one of their friendly meetings in 1814, these three friends talked about the wretched condition and tyranny to which their fellow countrymen were subject in Turkey, and especially in the Peloponnese, Epirus and some islands, and bewailed the wretched fate of the Nation. They blamed this on the indifference which the Christian rulers at the Congress of Vienna, after the downfall and exile of Napoleon to the island of Elba, manifested towards it [the Greek Nation]. At the same time a learned man in Vienna published a treatise in pamphlet form urging the rulers of the alliance to send their already united and victorious armies beyond the Danube for the liberation of an old and glorious Nation, the Greek, which had for centuries been enslaved by another barbarous and uncivilised nation, the Turkish, etc. But the Austrian Government, informed about this by the representative of the Ottoman Porte, Mavroyenis, prevented this by seizing the said pamphlet and saying

that the Greek Nation does not exist in the catalogue of Nations and other such things.

Then Xanthos had occasion to propose to his friends the idea which he had conceived of creating a Society, with the unwavering object of liberating the Motherland. He revealed to them his initiation into the Society of Freemasons and some of their symbols, which could be adapted to this [Society]. He put before them the character of the Greek people and the sources of their strength, the political and moral state of the Turks who tyrannised over them, the efforts of Rigas the Thessalian, the victories of the brave Souliots, Pargans and other different *armatoloi,* improperly called *klefts,* over Ali Paşa, the tyrant of Ioannina, our seaborne victories from time to time under Lambros Katsonis, and on another occasion the general hatred of the fellow countrymen against the tyranny of the Turks, and the inclinations of the different Christian peoples of Europe. And thus the aforementioned decided to undertake the setting up of such a Society and to initiate into it all the chosen and brave men among the compatriots, so as to carry out by themselves, that which for long they had vainly hoped for from the benevolence of the Christian rulers.

It was not possible for a Society such as this, having as its object the rebirth of a nation that had been enslaved for centuries, to exist without leaders. The group of those who were intending to undertake the higher direction of this daring and difficult enterprise was called the *arkhi,* unknown and invisible to all the enrolled brethren of this Society. For the experiences of the ever to be remembered Rigas and Papa Efthymios, and other good reasons, prompted the leaders to keep the *arkhi* secret until the beginning of the revolution. For this reason many, misled, took to be leaders different people not only from among the catechised and enrolled brethren of the Society, but also from among those who had no knowledge of, and perhaps no inclination for, the undertaking.

The aforementioned three friends, then, planned the so-called Catechism of this Society, and decided, for greater safety in their correspondence, instead of signing with their names, to use, each one of them, different letters of the alphabet. That is to say Tsakaloff took AB, Skouphas AG, Xanthos AD. But afterwards Xanthos, since Galatis who knew of the *arkhi* through Skouphas in Odessa (as is mentioned later) wished to use these letters, he employed A TH from then on. After this, urgent affairs obliged Skouphas and Tsakaloff to leave, about September of that year (1814), for Moscow where they put the finishing touches to the rules of the Society, which they called the Society of Friends [*Philiki Etairia*]. About December Xanthos, similarly, was obliged to depart for Constantinople.

Towards the end of October of the same year, the aforementioned two comrades in Moscow decided to attempt to enrol some of the most

patriotic of their fellow countrymen, whom they knew to desire the political transformation of the nation. Among these, then, the first to be catechised was the late Georgios Sekeris, a Peloponnesian, young and of good character and education (who truly fought in the Peloponnese and elsewhere, and died for the Motherland).

The two aforementioned leaders, seeing that the catechism made an impression and enthused, as was desired, the first person to be catechised, undertook the catechism of others too, among them Antonios Komizopoulos, from Philippoupolis [Plovdiv]. To [Komizopoulos] (since on testing him they found him of good character and honourable), they revealed that they were themselves the leaders, and thus they received him as a member of the secret *arkhi*, and he took the initials AE. They catechised others, too, of the Greek merchants to be found there. Some of these travelling to Moldavia and Wallachia catechised several compatriots to be found in these provinces, among them Theodoros Negris, secretary of the *hospodar* in Iaşi, Skarlatos Kallimakhis, and some monks and abbots of Greek monasteries. Leaving Moscow for Paris the aforementioned Georgios Sekeris passed through Vienna where he met the Archimandrite Anthimos Gazis, who was officiating as chaplain, and was about to go to Mount Pelion, his home district, to found a school. He revealed to him that a secret society existed, having as its object the improvement and liberation of the Nation, members of which were to be found in Russia, without enrolling him or telling him any thing more.

Meanwhile, the leaders in Moscow decided that one of them should travel to Odessa, the other two remained in Moscow, and in contact with their comrade in Constantinople, Xanthos, they worked tirelessly and with systematic progress towards this great undertaking.

Then Skouphas went to Odessa towards the beginning of 1816 and carrying out his duties to the *Philiki Etairia,* enrolled among others Panayiotis Anagnostopoulos, whom he met there for the first time. This Anagnostopoulos enrolled Athanasios Sekeris, to whom Skouphas afterwards revealed the *arkhi,* adding him to its members with the letters AH. The *arkhi* was not then revealed to Anagnostopoulos, but he remained a simple member of the Society, the same as others with the grade of *ierefs.* (For the leaders had created in the beginning four grades: that of the *vlamis* (brother) for the simple and unlettered, that of the *systimenos* (recommended), for compatriots of low estate, that of the *ierefs* (priest) and the *poimin* (shepherd) for the more select and educated. Later, in Constantinople, they instituted two other military grades; those of the *aphieromenos* (dedicated) and *arkhigos ton aphieromenon* (leader of the dedicated), as is later explained.)

It was at this time that a certain Nikolaos Galatis came to Odessa, boasting that he was a relative of Count Kapodistrias, and that he was

intending to go to St Petersburg to meet him on important business. Skouphas, a tireless observer of all his fellow-countrymen, noticed him, and having befriended him, thought to introduce him into the Society. And, indeed, having been initiated into the Society and having learnt the *arkhi* he promised great things, Skouphas therefore supplied him with expenses and with letters of recommendation to Tsakaloff, Komizopoulos and other friends in Moscow. These received him with great attention and introduced him to Prince Alexandros Mavrokordatos the Phyraris, whom he enrolled into the Society, whose secret he learned about with great admiration. Since they facilitated his journey to St Petersburg, he arrived there, but with his bad and thoughtless behaviour he forced the government to expel him from their borders, and he came to Moldavia, where he abused the secret of the Society, for the benefit and satisfaction of his desires.

After this, about the same year, several *kapetanioi* from Greece, who had served the Russians in the Ionian Islands between 1806 and 1812, during the war against the Turks, came to Odessa, on their way to St. Petersburg to seek, through Count Ioannis Kapodistrias, payment for their services from the Emperor Alexander. These were Anagnostis Papa Georgiou, called Anagnostaras, a distinguished Peloponnesian and enemy of the Turks, and a former companion of the famous Zakharias, the Maniots Ilias Khrysospathis, Panayiotis Dimitrakapoulos, the latter a notable opponent of Ali Paşa of Ioannina. Skouphas and the rest of the comrades in Odessa received and cared for them, initiated and brought them into the Society. Everyone can understand that such irreconcilable enemies of the Turks received such a suggestion with enthusiasm, and thinking that it was something instigated by Russia, showed themselves to be most faithful to their oath. Leaving for Moscow, they took letters of introduction from Skouphas to Tsakaloff and Komizopoulos there. These last received them and cared for them as was proper, and being known to them as simple members of the Society and not as *arkhigoi*, they introduced them to certain distinguished Greek merchants, and, of course, to the late Prince Alexandros Mavrokordatos the Phyraris. They, in turn, enrolled many of them, so that in Moscow almost all the distinguished Greeks became members of the Society. When the Emperor and Kapodistrias came to Moscow, the aforementioned *kapetanoi* were introduced to the former through the Count, and, being rewarded, they returned to Odessa during March 1818.

Tsakaloff, in accordance with the opinion of his fellow *arkhigoi,* having left Moscow at the beginning of July 1817, came to Odessa, and decided to go, with Skouphas, to Constantinople to meet their colleague Xanthos, to whom Tsakaloff wrote on 8 August from there.

The aforementioned two comrades being still in Odessa, Anthimos

Gazis came there from Vienna, and met with Skouphas and Tsakaloff. These, testing him and judging him worthy, enrolled him, and revealed to him the *arkhi,* and thus he became a member and took the initials AZ. Departing from there, he went to Constantinople, where he met with Xanthos and talked with him at length about this great undertaking, leaving for Milies on Mount Pelion to become a headmaster.

About December of the same year Tsakaloff, too, came to Constantinople alone and met with Xanthos, with whom he stayed. And having discussed and considered with him a considerable amount about where they should base themselves, he left about March 1818 for Mount Pelion to meet with Gazis, to persuade him to agree to the *arkhigoi* meeting there and that Mount Pelion, being safe, be made the place and centre of their activities. But Gazis, feeling that Grigorios Konstantas, being suspect, did not agree, suggested the Mani. So about the beginning of April, Tsakaloff left for Smyrna to seek and meet with certain of his friends; afterwards he returned to Constantinople, where Skouphas was also expected.

About the beginning of the same month of April of this year (1818), Skouphas came to Constantinople, accompanied by Panayiotis Anagnostopoulos and Louriotis, and meeting his colleague Xanthos, he spoke much with him about their future undertakings and about Tsakaloff. They both agreed that the *arkhi* should be revealed to the aforementioned Anagnostopoulos, as seemingly a youth of good character and enthusiasm. And thus it happened, and he was added to the grade of *arkhigoi,* and took the initials AI. And after a few days they sent Louriotis, at his request, to Livorno in Italy to enrol those capable fellow countrymen that he might know there. But he, having left for that place and having fallen ill after a certain time, died in Barletta. Anagnostopoulos waited in Constantinople, working together with the two *arkhigoi* Skouphas and Xanthos, awaiting the return of their colleague Tsakaloff, to whom Xanthos wrote, as he did also to Anthimos Gazis.

After a short time had elapsed the aforementioned *kapetanioi*, Anagnostaras, Khrysospathis, Dimitrakopoulos and Ioannis Pharmakis, travelled to Constantinople from Odessa with their men, whom the *arkhigoi* looked after as it should be. By misfortune Skouphas, a few days after his arrival in Constantinople, fell ill and those there were hindered. They awaited his recovery and the return of Tsakaloff from Smyrna (who in fact arrived about the end of June) so as to decide, as the *arkhigoi* had planned in advance, what directions and instructions should be given to them. But for all the endeavours of the comrades and visits by the doctors Moskhos and Isavridis, it proved impossible for the good Skouphas to recover, and about the end of July he died. Then the remaining *arkhigoi* gave the appropriate instructions to the said *kapetanioi,* furnishing them with sufficient money, received from the wholesale merchant Panayiotis Sekeris

(brother of the aforementioned Georgios and Athanasios). He had been initiated into the Society by Anagnostopoulos, a few days after he had arrived in Constantinople, very willingly offering ten thousand *grosia.* They sent Ioannis Pharmakis to Macedonia and Thessaly to proselytise, as he promised, the *kapetanioi* of the *armatoloi* and whoever was important or a primate in those parts, which he did. And having travelled to the Holy Mountain of Athos as well, he initiated the Patriarch Grigorios of blessed memory, and Khrysanthos then archbishop in Serres, the virtuous bishop of Ardameri and others. At the same time they sent Anagnostaras to the islands of Hydra and Spetses and to the Peloponnese to enrol those whom he might judge to be worthy and he sent someone especially to enrol Theodoros Kolokotronis and other worthies who were then to be found in Zakynthos, which he did. [And they sent] Ilias Khrysospathis, Dimitrakopoulos and Kamarinos Kyriakos to the Mani to catechise its ruler Petros Mavromikhalis and such other *kapetanioi* of that place, which they did. They sent the Archimandrite Grigorios Dikaios Phlessas, a Peloponnesian enrolled in Constantinople, to Wallachia and Moldavia to enrol those fellow countrymen found there whom he might judge to be worthy. They sent others to different islands of the Archipelago and to the coastal towns of Asia Minor. Moreover, they sent Dimitrios Ypatros to Alexandria in Egypt, and a Corfiot doctor to Jerusalem to propagate the secret, so that in a short time the secret of the Society had been promulgated in many parts of Turkey, to many *kapetanioi* on both land and sea, to notables and many of the select of the fellow countrymen, with the greatest speed.

All this, however, demanded great and frequent expenses, and the financial situation of the *arkhigoi* would not have been adequate to meet these and those that were to occur in the future, if the secret of the *arkhi* had not included the brave and excellent patriot, Panayiotis Sekeris, who, as mentioned above, having been enrolled into the Society by Anagnostopoulos, gladly offered 10,000 *grosia* initially and more later.

Petros Mavromikhalis, the ruler of Mani, enrolled there by the aforementioned emissaries, accepted the secret with willingness and enthusiasm and having decided to ready himself, he was in need of money and taking counsel with those that had enrolled him he communicated with the *arkhigoi* in Constantinople. He sent them his dedicatory letter by way of Panayiotis Dimitrakopoulos, and, at the same time, asked to be sent, by way of his sons then in Constantinople as hostages to the Turkish government, a sufficient quantity of money, so as to prepare war supplies and to pay soldiers obedient to his command. The person who sought this amount was very important, and the Society had need of such a place and Governor, but the *arkhigoi* did not have the money which he sought. So they turned to the aforementioned Panayiotis Sekeris, seeking the necessary amounts, and this best of patriots willingly paid this amount and

others to the *arkhigoi.* Such generosity was a sufficient guarantee of the character of the man. On account of this, through Anagnostopoulos, the *arkhi* was revealed to him, and thus becoming a member of it as well and taking the initials AK he worked together with his colleagues, the *arkhigoi.* From then on he gladly fulfilled the monetary needs of the Society, so that the man had paid a very important amount. The *arkhi,* for this reason, notified by means of a circular the known members of the Society in different parts, [and asked them] to send to him the dedicatory letters [addressed] to the *arkhi,* as well as the monetary offerings of all those entering into the Society. But they sent but little money, because most of those joining only promised, without actually offering, money, and because many of the brethren engaged in recruitment spent whatever money they received from those enrolled on travel and on the dispatch of brethren to different parts of Turkey and elsewhere.

Meanwhile, the centre of all the activities of the administration of the Society was in Constantinople in the house of Xanthos. He suggested to his colleagues that a seal be made, bearing on its rim the first letters of the surnames of the *arkhigoi* and in the middle of it the cross, on which was engraved the E (Ellas) and the number 16, and also [the creation of] a register, in which were noted the names of the members of the Society who had been enrolled, the emblems of their dedication and enrolment, and their contributions, either given or promised. From all sides the *arkhi* was receiving letters and news about the progress of the Society. As the *arkhigoi* observed that in Moldavia there was great activity, but that factions and disorders were beginning to manifest themselves among certain members, and indeed suspicions occasioned by the aforementioned Galatis, they decided to send Konstantinos Pentedekas, from Ioannina but then in Constantinople, a simple member of the Society, to observe the disposition of the comrades there and to try, if possible, to bring the aforementioned Galatis back from there, he being a friend of Pentedekas. For this reason the latter, equipped by the *arkhigoi* with enough money and with introductory letters, left for Bucharest, where as mentioned above the Archimandrite Grigorios Dikaios Phlessas had earlier been sent to recruit.

Since Xanthos also observed that the membership of the Society, which included many men of standing, was rapidly and daily increasing, and that many were displeased by not knowing the secret *arkhi,* and that because of the abuses of some members of the Society suspicions of deception were aroused, he suggested to his fellow *arkhigoi* that one of them should go to St Petersburg to reveal the secret to Count Ioannis Kapodistrias, by this time a man of standing and worthy of the confidence of the Greek nation on account of his important official position in Russia. [The idea was] that the latter should direct this great undertaking and should write to the

most important fellow countrymen enrolled in the Society for their support and encouragement. From this it would be believed that the Society would succeed, it being known that Kapodistrias was a patriotic and wise politician, and that the *arkhigoi* would be able to exploit the popular belief held for centuries by the enslaved Greeks, that liberation from the Turkish tyranny would come from Russia, as a co-religionist. It was decided therefore that Xanthos, who had made the suggestion, should take the necessary measures.

The *arkhigoi* in Constantinople signed an agreement on this matter and Xanthos, taking all the dedicatory letters of the members of the Society to the *arkhi* that were there, together with such other documents relating to this matter, left on 23 October 1818. He went first to Mount Pelion, to meet his comrade Anthimos Gazis to discuss this affair with him. He gave him the aforementioned letters, as he was in a safe place, and receiving from him letters of introduction to Kapodistrias and some others, he returned to Constantinople about the beginning of December.

While Xanthos was at Mount Pelion, Pentedekas had returned from Wallachia with the aforementioned Galatis. Tsakaloff, Anagnostopoulos and Sekeris who were there in [Constantinople], received him in a friendly manner, and looked after him well. But he, being of bad character, took advantage of current developments to bother those brethren of the Society that he knew, forcing them to give him money under the threat of denunciation. These men, frightened and justly so, gave to him but were disturbed by such terrible wickedness and many complaints were made against him, with the result that Athanasios Tsakaloff and Dimitrakopoulos (who had returned from the Mani with letters from the Bey Petros Mavromikhalis to the *arkhi*) persuaded him to embark with them for the Mani, which they did. Reaching Ydra and going from there to Spetses, they both on the one hand were unable to bear his evil behaviour and on the other foresaw the danger to which all the members of the Society might fall, and that such a great and difficult work, having made such hopeful progress, could easily be ruined if the necessary discretion was not preserved. With these two unhappy developments in mind they decided, for the safety of the many, to sacrifice one, and in fact they killed him in Ermioni (Kastri), where they had gone to visit certain ruins. They in turn fled to the Mani, but the *bey,* to avoid dangers consequent on the revelation that the murderers had sought refuge there, and from the planned revolution, advised them to leave for Italy and thus they fled to Pisa, where meeting with the Archbishop Ignatios [Oungrovlakhias] and Alexandros Mavrokordatos, ordinary members of the Society, they revealed to them the *arkhi.*

Xanthos, returning from Mount Pelion, found Anagnostopoulos and Pentedekas quarrelling, the former wishing to show his superiority over

and grumbling about the latter on account of certain peccadilloes. In vain did the other *arkhigoi* seek to keep the peace between them, for the hatred lasted for ever, and the dissension with Pentedekas was the cause of many disturbances in Wallachia and Moldavia, when Anagnostopoulos went there. He [Pentedekas], scheming and intriguing a great deal against the other, was the cause of many unbecoming things against the interests of the Society. And if Anagnostopoulos had not been obliged to reveal the secret of the *arkhi* to Grigorios Dikaios Phlessas and Georgios Leventis, the latter a man of great influence there (as is mentioned later), the consequences would undoubtedly have been disastrous.

Since the *arkhigoi*, as mentioned above, had agreed that Xanthos should go to St Petersburg, it was decided that Tsakaloff should go to the Mani and remain there. Anagnostopoulos considered going to Smyrna to meet his parents who lived in a small town of that region and [it was decided that] Sekeris should remain in Constantinople and correspond with the other, having of necessity compiled a code to guard their correspondence. But Anagnostopoulos, having learned of the death of Galatis, and having changed his mind about going to Smyrna, left with Xanthos on 19 February 1819. Arriving at Galati, Xanthos, after a few days, went to Tomarovo in Bessarabia to undergo his quarantine, while Anagnostopoulos, after a few days during which he had, as they had planned, set up an *ephoreia* of the most respectable members of the Society to be found there, to keep watch on the comrades that had been enrolled in the Society so as to receive the dedicatory letters and the contributions of those who by chance wished to be enrolled in the Society, in order to avoid abuses and embezzlement of money first went to Iaşi for the same reason, and afterwards to Bucharest to meet the Archimandrite Phlessas. Here he was to rest until he had learnt the results of Xanthos' mission to St Petersburg, and to be guided in his work; but he, finding Grigorios Dikaios Phlessas there, together with Pentedekas, who, as has been mentioned before, hated him, became so involved in such untimely and unseemly quarrels and disturbances that he [Anagnostopoulos] was obliged to seek the protection and help of the powerful member of the Society there, Georgios Leventis, to whom he revealed the secret of the *arkhi*, and he became a member of it, taking the initials AL. (He [Leventis] benefited the Society greatly and gave financial help to many fellow countrymen before and after the Revolution.) Similar reasons and circumstances also obliged him [Anagnostopoulos] to reveal the *arkhi* to Grigorios Dikaios Phlessas, who was called Harmodios and took the initials AM to sign by. But since some of the members of the Society there, among them Theodoros Negris, first secretary of Kallimakhis (then *hospodar* in Moldavia) and for this reason very powerful, through the machinations of Pentedekas and some others, acted against and plotted

against Anagnostopoulos, the latter being afraid for these and other reasons to remain in these parts or in Bessarabia where after these things he had fled, judging it necessary for his safety to withdraw. Moreover, furnished by Georgios Leventis with several hundred florins for expenses he departed from there, going to Pisa in Italy, and, meeting with Tsakaloff, remained there until the approach of the Revolution.

Xanthos arriving in Moscow in December met with comrade Antonios Komizopoulos and on discussing what one might expect, they judged that the *arkhi* should also be revealed to the wholesale merchant Nikolaos Patzimadis of Ioannina, a prudent, honourable man, highly regarded in those parts. And so he, too, became a member of the *arkhi* and took the initials AX with which to sign.

After this Xanthos left at the beginning of January 1820 for St Petersburg. Two days after his arrival, he was summoned to the presence of Count Ioannis Kapodistrias, to whom he handed over the letter of Anthimos Gazis. He revealed the whole organisation of the Society, its *arkhigoi,* the multiplication of its members, its extent and everything else he considered necessary, and finally that they besought him to direct, as *arkhigos,*' the movement of the nation, either directly or through some suitable plan, and that he should inform the most important of his fellow countrymen who had been enrolled about the most suitable means of beginning the war. But Kapodistrias did not accept, saying that he, being a minister of the Emperor, could not do so, and many other such things. Xanthos repeated to him that it was impossible for the Greeks in the future to remain under tyranny, that the revolution was inevitable, and that because they had need of a leader it was not right for him, as a Greek held in high esteem by them and many others, to remain indifferent, and so on. But the latter repeated that he could not become involved for the above reasons and that if the *arkhigoi* knew of other means to carry out their object, let them use them, and that he wished God to help. These things took place in two separate meetings.

Xanthos, then, disappointed by the Count, but considering that, for the object of the revolution to succeed with a great outcome, it was absolutely essential to present to the nation one of its most important members for its encouragement, he therefore turned his thoughts to another person as illustrious as Kapodistrias, and more suitable. This was Prince Alexandros Ypsilantis, a general and aide-de-camp to the Emperor and held in esteem and favour by him. He therefore went to visit him and the Prince received him favourably and with great courtesy, and asked where he was from and for what purposes he had come to St Petersburg. Xanthos replied very cautiously saying that he was from an island, Patmos, and that he had come to St Petersburg from Constantinople for commercial reasons, and other such things. The Prince asked him how things were with his fellow

countrymen in those regions, and if the Turkish government was increasing the yoke of tyranny there too, as in other regions. Xanthos replied that everywhere the Turks tyrannised the unfortunate Greeks, and that the tyranny had become unbearable. The Prince, downcast, said: 'Why do the Greeks not try to act, so that even if it is impossible to free themselves of the yoke, then at least they might lighten it?' Then Xanthos replied with much passion: 'Prince, by what means and with what leaders are the unfortunate Greeks to improve their political condition? They have remained abandoned by those who could lead them; for all the worthy fellow countrymen flee to foreign parts, and leave their compatriots as orphans. Look! Count Kapodistrias serves Russia, your late father fled here, and Karatzas to Italy, you yourself in the service of Russia have lost your right arm and others equally worthy, having fled to Christian Europe, remain there without perhaps caring for their unfortunate brethren. The Prince, replying to this said: 'If I knew that my compatriots had need of me, and thought that I could contribute to their well-being, I say to you honestly that I would gladly make any sacrifice, even of my wealth and of myself for them ' Then Xanthos, getting up and with emotion in his soul, said: 'Prince, give me your hand in confirmation of what you have said.' The Prince, looking at Xanthos with some admiration, gave him his hand, and the latter said that he had not come to St Petersburg for commercial purposes, but for another much more important reason which he would reveal to him on the morrow.

The Prince, impatient, sought to know then, but Xanthos begged him to remain patient until the morrow, and thus the first meeting ended. The next day Xanthos went to him, revealed all to him, and the latter willingly and enthusiastically agreed to dedicate himself, with any sacrifice, to the service of his fellow countrymen. Giving to Xanthos a sworn and written statement of his faith and devotion (which Xanthos sent to his comrades in Moscow, Patzimadis and Komizopoulos, among whom it is to be found) Ypsilantis accepted the title of General Commissioner (*Genikos Epitropos*) of the *arkhi*, taking the name of *Kalos* (Good), and the initials AR to sign by, and thus the objective of the Society was fulfilled through him.

Immediately after this, circular letters were written on behalf of the *arkhi* by Xanthos (who had the list on which were noted the names of the enrolled members, together with the signs of their dedication and consecration, and also the seal of the *arkhi*) and by Alexandros Ypsilantis, to the most important known members of the Society in Constantinople, the Islands, the Peloponnese and Rumeli, informing them that Alexandros Ypsilantis, appointed General Commissioner by the *arkhi,* was to direct the Society and that from henceforth the brethren should communicate with him and follow his orders, and other such things as were suitable for the encouragement of the brethren. These were sent by means of

Athanasios and Panayiotis Sekeris, who were in Odessa and Constantinople. Xanthos informed his comrades among the *arkhigoi* regularly by post about all these activities and acts of his, Athanasios and Panayiotis Sekeris and Grigorios Phlessas in Odessa and Constantinople, as well as Georgios Leventis in Bucharest and Athanasios Tsakaloff and Anagnostopoulos in Pisa, Italy.

Meanwhile Alexandros Ypsilantis discussed the affair of the Society with Count Kapodistrias, urging him to mention it to the Emperor and to seek from him help, if not military, then at least monetary, against the several million *grosia* which the Ottoman government was obliged to pay the Ypsilantis family. But Kapodistrias refused, repeating what he had earlier told Xanthos. Then Ypsilantis, deciding to carry out with success the movement of the nation, thought to seek facilities from the Nation and the Government of France. For this reason about July of that year (1820) he sought leave of absence for two years from the Emperor, to go to foreign parts, and, receiving this, he left with Xanthos. And they took in their entourage the doctor Petros Ippitis too, who having found himself there, went to Moscow where Ypsilantis, as *arkhigos* of the future great movement, made the acquaintance of the comrades who were there. Leaving after a few days they arrived at Kiev, where his family lived. There Xanthos received through Aristeides Pappas, one of the fervent comrades of the Society, letters from Count Dionysios Romas of Zakynthos and others, addressed to the *arkhi,* and different opinions of the success of the work, which were given to Ypsilantis.

On the first of August, Alexandros Ypsilantis, accompanied by Xanthos and the aforementioned P. Ippitis, left Kiev, and when they arrived at Dubossary Ypsilantis, together with Ippitis, headed for Odessa. Xanthos, receiving from him orders and letters to the *ephors* set up in Bucharest after the departure of Anagnostopoulos, and to Georgios Leventis and other comrades, and to the *kapetanioi* enrolled there, Georgios Olympios, Savvas Kaminaris, and Ioannis Pharmakis who had come there from Macedonia a short time before, departed for Bucharest via Ismail and Galaţi, and discussed with them what one might expect. To encourage and assist them, as they made their preparations, he shared out at their request, to Savvas 500 (five hundred) Dutch florins; to Dimitrios Mousakoff 1000 (one thousand) *grosia,* to go to Serbia to discuss with its Prince Miloš and the other military leaders there; to Khristophoros Perraivos, on the order of Ypsilantis, a bill of exchange of Nikolopoulos for 10,000 (ten thousand) *grosia* payable in Constantinople by Kyriakos Koumbaris.

Xanthos again from there informed through letters his fellow *arkhigoi* Panayiotis Sekeris in Constantinople and Tsakaloff and Anagnostopoulos in Pisa of his arrival in Bucharest, summoning them to go to Kishinev in Bessarabia, whither Ypsilantis intended to go to meet him, so that they

too could co-operate with him further. Panayiotis Sekeris informed Grigorios Dikaios in Constantinople (whom, betrayed shortly before, he [Sekeris] had released from the clutches of the *bostancıbaşı* by the payment of a large sum of money), who went to Galaţi, awaiting Xanthos' return from Bucharest.

Xanthos, returning to Galaţi about October, and meeting up with Grigorios Dikaios, informed Alexandros Ypsilantis, and the latter, having in his entourage G. Lassanis as his secretary, came from Odessa to Ismail where Xanthos went to do his quarantine, so as to discuss with him his activities in Bucharest. He introduced the aforementioned Dikaios to Alexandros Ypsilantis as a fellow *arkhigos* and also Dimitrios Themelis, Petros Markesis, Dionysios Evmorphopoulos, Vangelis Mantzarakis, Dimitrios Ypatros, who had returned from Alexandria in Egypt and from Cyprus, and other members of the Society, who came from Galaţi with Xanthos to become acquainted with Ypsilantis. At the same time Khristophoros Perraivos came there from Bucharest, heading for Constantinople. Ypsilantis gave him and others circular letters and proclamations to the comrades of the Society in Turkey, exhorting and encouraging them in the forthcoming struggle, and giving many other orders. He particularly recommended the aforementioned Dikaios and Perraivos to Panayiotis Sekeris and the *ephors* in Constantinople, commanding them to give them money adequate to prepare the necessary things for war. Sekeris willingly furnished, with the help of K. Mavros, L. Koumbaris and S. Barbas, *ephors* in Constantinople, to Perraivos 120,000 *grosia,* to Phlessas 90,000 *grosia* and other amounts to others. And these left, and Ypsilantis with Lassanis returned to Kishinev, waiting to collaborate further with Xanthos after his quarantine.

When, after a few days, Ypsilantis arrived in Kishinev, he wrote to Xanthos, still in the quarantine station, sending him certain orders through Lassanis, which it was not appropriate at that time to carry out. Xanthos replied negatively, giving him reasons in writing through the same Lassanis. Ypsilantis was persuaded and was satisfied.

Xanthos was discharged at Ismail, and about 10 November he went to Kishinev and co-operated with Ypsilantis in the preparation of the revolution. They sent Lassanis to Iaşi to rest and to await instructions and orders from Ypsilantis, and from Prince Mikhail Soutsos, *hospodar* of Moldavia, who had been enlisted in the Society, and of his minister Iakovakis Rizos. He sent Aristeides Pappas with Petros Psalidas to Serbia with letters from Ypsilantis to Prince Miloš and with orders to prepare him to ally with the Greeks.

Meanwhile, Xanthos, aware that Tsakaloff and Anagnostopoulos had been delayed, once again wrote, urging them to hasten their arrival, sending letters for them to Georgios Leventis in Bucharest, to be

forwarded. But the latter replied to Xanthos that Anagnostopoulos should not be invited since the tempers of the comrades were excited against him, and that his arrival would once again cause scandal and displeasure, so that it was better he should be far off. For all this, Xanthos, their sincere friend, unwilling to countenance their absence from things and making many recommendations on their behalf to the Prince, once again wrote to them, and they left Italy. But Tsakaloff, falling ill on the way, was stopped at Vienna. Anagnostopoulos came to Bucharest on 30 December, and because Leventis again wrote to Xanthos that Anagnostopoulos should be invited to Kishinev, for it was not in their interest for him to remain there, fearful lest his presence might once again displease the comrades, Xanthos pressed the Prince to invite him there. And thus he arrived in Kishinev about the middle of February 1821, when Xanthos was absent in Ismail, but for reasons which will be made known later, he did not receive a good reception from the Prince.

After his return from Bucharest, Xanthos in Kishinev co-operated, as has been mentioned, with Prince Ypsilantis in the preparation of the revolution. Since it had been planned that the first move would begin in the Peloponnese and the rest of Greece, it was decided that the Prince, as General Commissioner of the *arkhi,* would go there with Xanthos and the rest, when Grigorios Dikaios and the others wrote from the Peloponnese that all was ready, sending, as they had been ordered, a Greek ship to Trieste to embark them. But before moving the Prince decided first of all some time in March to go with Xanthos to France, with the object, as he said, of carrying out something for the benefit and ease of the movement; and, by means of Lafayette and other important Frenchmen, to raise a loan against the security of his family estates in Russia, and of the three million *grosia* that the Ottoman Government had then decided to pay him, instead of nine, by the terms of the Treaty of Peace of Bucharest and Akkerman with Russia (as the Russian ambassador in Constantinople, Baron Stroganoff, had written him). He had great confidence, as he said, that the Greeks would be willingly helped by the French nation and its government, as the only nation liberal and honourable enough to assist in the liberation and enlightenment of nations, and particularly the Greek. They would then return to Trieste to embark in a Greek ship and land in the Mani, beginning the war. Simultaneously the brethren of the Society in Moldavia and Wallachia were notified, together with the organised military leaders, Georgios Olympios, Savvas Kaminaris, Ioannis Pharmakis, Athanasios Touphektzis and many others, to begin the war then. For this reason Xanthos left Kishinev about the beginning of January 1821 for Ismail, where he found his family who had moved there from Constantinople some months before, to put his domestic affairs in order, and

afterwards returned to Kishinev about the end of February to accompany the Prince.

In Ismail, Xanthos, being in correspondence with the Prince and others, sent Dimitrios Themelis and Vangelis Mantzarakis to Constantinople and the Aegean, with letters and new orders sent by Ypsilantis, giving to the former six thousand *grosia* and to the latter eleven thousand *grosia.* But then the Prince was informed that the Turks, through the treachery of some, had begun to suspect, and at the same time learnt that Dimitrios Ypatros, who had been sent some time before to Niaousta with letters and proclamations, had been betrayed and murdered. It was rumoured too that Aristeides Pappas had been arrested by the Turks at Adakale, opposite Craiova. In order to attract all the attention and forces of the enemy to the Danubian regions, so that the Greek lands should remain with only small enemy forces, and for many other reasons, he [Ypsilantis] changed the plan. And he decided to pass into Moldavia, where the *hospodar* Mikhail Soutsos was prepared to assist with any sacrifice, and to begin the revolution from there. For this reason on 16 February 1821 he wrote to Xanthos, by special messenger, to come to Kishinev. He, starting on the twenty first, arrived there on the twenty-third on account of bad weather, but did not make contact with the Prince, who had left on the evening of the twenty-first with his brothers Nikolaos and Georgios, with Georgios Katakouzinos and some others, and had arrived in Iaşi on the twenty-second. But he left with his mother a letter for Xanthos, informing him of the revolution which had already been proclaimed, and giving him different orders in connection with the matter and [making clear] his intentions with regard to Anagnostopoulos whom he had left idle and under suspicion. But Xanthos, as a sincere and faithful friend and comrade, was not slow in consoling him in that miserable humiliation, shunned and distrusted by all the household and friends of the Prince, and writing immediately to the Prince in Iaşi so defended him that he dispersed every bad suspicion against him.

Panayiotis Sekeris in Constantinople, who earlier had undergone many dangers on account of the treachery of a brother of Galatis and other vexations, as soon as the news of the uprising arrived there, was betrayed and sought by the Ottoman Porte but by good fortune was warned and just managed to save himself. So he found himself without money on a boat in which he reached Odessa, deprived of all his property, and leaving his family in the most appalling dangers but which, as by a miracle, was afterwards saved from the tortures of the tyrant.

Xanthos, galvanising and encouraging his fellow countrymen of these regions, wrote immediately to his emissaries in Greece, Dikaios Phlessas, Themelis and others, about the beginning of the revolution, sending them

by sea the proclamations of war with a special man, Stamatis Doukakis, a merchant and member of the Society then in Ismail. He, passing through Constantinople, ran the greatest dangers but succeeded in bringing in time these informatory letters with the proclamations, and the revolution began in the Peloponnese and other parts.

It should be noted that the revolution in the Peloponnese was inspired and encouraged by the *proestoi* and other landowners and merchants, and these first took up arms and encouraged the people, and almost the whole of the clerical estate, without which the people would never have moved, nor have succeeded. In the islands and Rumeli, on the other hand, the people and the *kapetanioi* rose up, obliging the *proestoi* to agree.

A few days after the departure of Alexandros Ypsilantis, his brother Dimitrios came to Kishinev from Kiev and prepared to pass into Moldavia, after he had received from his brother Alexandros letters from the Iaşi camp, through which he was told to liaise with Xanthos about the uprising. The latter suggested to him that it was essential for a member of the Ypsilantis family to go to Greece for the greater encouragement of those bearing arms and the people there, and for this reason he advised him to go himself. Persuaded of this, he informed his brother Alexandros, to whom Xanthos also wrote about it. Alexandros agreed with this opinion, answering both of them, and urged Xanthos whom he had earlier summoned to his side to accompany his brother Dimitrios, to whom he sent introductory letters to the Greeks, appointing him his commissioner. He also persuaded Alexandros Katakouzinos, who was getting ready to make his way to the Moldavia camp, to go with them to Greece.

When things had thus been arranged, Prince Dimitrios decided first of all to go to Odessa, to cash some letters of credit to the value of eight hundred thousand *grosia* which his brother Alexandros had received from Andreas Pavlos, a banker in Iaşi, and had sent to him, and about which he had written from Iaşi to the *ephors* of the Society he had set up in Odessa; and to sell or pawn some jewellery and to take the sums received with him. He left for this place with Xanthos about the middle of March. He spoke to the *ephors* about the letters of credit, but they did not wish to cash them. Some of them were frightened, as they said, lest they would risk their money if the revolution failed. He pawned the jewellery and received thirty-six thousand roubles, giving a promise of forty thousand for one year (which his mother took, paying in the meantime). He also took eighteen thousand roubles from the subscriptions of fellow countrymen in the treasury of the *ephoreia* and returned with Xanthos to Kishinev.

During their absence from Kishinev, Alexandros Katakouzinos departed from Greece, accompanied by Mikhail Mikhaloglou from Patmos, Grigorios Salas, Khristos Petalas and some others, with the intention of waiting for Prince Dimitrios at Trieste, which they did.

There flowed into Galaţi and Pruth many fellow countrymen, who enrolled in a military formation to go to the Greek camp in Wallachia, where they seized fourteen Turkish ships bound up the Danube for Galaţi, for they had need of war supplies and arms. So it was decided that Xanthos should depart for Ismail, to equip the above mentioned soldiers, to move the ships to the Western shores of the Black Sea, and also to wait to receive such money that was, as they had learnt, going to be sent by Varvakis in Taganrog by means of the *ephors* in Odessa. For which reason he went there to carry this out. Prince Dimitrios, remaining in Kishinev, was preparing himself, writing on 13 April to Xanthos and leaving 500 florins for him for the expenses of the journey. He then departed, taking in his entourage together with the others Anagnostopoulos, who had been recommended to him by Xanthos and who was afraid to go to Constantinople, as Alexandros Ypsilantis had written [there about him] earlier, and Georgios Typaldos, a doctor.

Xanthos equipped from Ismail the soldiers in Galaţi and Pruth with such arms as he was able to aquire from General Tuskov, who was there with quite a number of barrels of gunpowder and nineteen cannons, of which sixteen were sent at his order from Odessa by sea, purchased by the contributions of the Muscovite members of the Society. He assisted as well the passage to Moldavia of many other fellow countrymen coming to Bessarabia from different parts of Russia, and many Bulgarians who joined with them at his urging, to go to the Greek camp, equipping them with clothing and arms, and many of them with money to pay the cossacks guarding the banks of the Pruth to turn a blind eye to their crossing into Moldavia. And he sent to Prince Georgios Katakouzinos, who had been sent to Iaşi from Tîrgovişte in Wallachia by Alexandros Ypsilantis to transfer the soldiers concentrated there, and who was seeking financial help, three thousand (3000) Dutch florins and seven thousand *mahmudiyes.* And at his request twelve thousand (12000) Augustan florins were sent to the merchant Ioannis Amvrosios in Odessa for exchange, for the *ephors* in Bessarabia, as they said, had no money. Xanthos decided to send Katakouzinos this amount, so as not to abandon him to the anger of the soldiers who, as a result of the intrigues of Pentedekas, himself seeking to be their leader, threatened to abandon him in the situation in which Iaşi was threatened by the invasion of Turks approaching from Braila.

On carrying out all this Xanthos, learning that Varvakis had sent the promised money with Antonios Komizopoulos (then in Odessa) to Livorno to buy military material to be sent to Greece (which happened), departed from Bessarabia on 26 June for Greece via Hungary, passing, in order to visit the unfortunate Prince Ypsilantis, through Mohacs, where the government of Austria had incarcerated him, together with his two brothers Nikolaos and Georgios, Georgios Lassanis, Gerassimos Orphanos,

the Pole Garnowski and one of his servants Konstantinos Kavalieropoulos. Not receiving permission to meet him [Ypsilantis], he headed for Ancona via Pest and Fiume.

The generosity with which Xanthos in Ancona, as well as in transit through the Bukovina, Transylvania and Hungary, assisted the many Greeks who had sought refuge in those regions after the collapse of the army in Wallachia and who were wandering about in distress, is known to many. He gave them money (many of them perhaps are to be found here), taking some of them with him to Ancona and sending them to Greece.

After these things and others about which I remain silent for the sake of brevity, Xanthos went with Tsakaloff to the Peloponnese, disembarking at Tripolitsa, and attached himself to Dimitrios Ypsilantis, fighting with him as far as he was able. He was also appointed a member of the committee to settle a difference between Vristhenis, vice-president of the parliament and some soldiers.

This is the true history and report of all that transpired, from the first founding of the Society of Friends, whose object was the resurrection and freedom of our Greek nation and Motherland, something considered improbable by all the politicians and wise men of Europe. And all this in greatest brevity. [. . .]

12 The Outbreak of the War of Independence

12:1 'FIGHT FOR FAITH AND MOTHERLAND': ALEXANDROS YPSILANTIS' PROCLAMATION OF REVOLT IN THE DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES, 24 FEBRUARY 1821

L. I. Vranousis and N. Kamarianos, *Athanasiou Xodilou: I Etaireia ton Philikon kai ta prota symvanta tou 1821* (Athens, 1964) pp. 24–8.

Fight for Faith and Motherland! The time has come, O Hellenes. Long ago the people of Europe, fighting for their own rights and liberties, invited us to imitation. These although partially free tried with all their strengh to increase their freedom and through this all their prosperity.

Our brethren and friends are everywhere ready. The Serbs, the Souliots and the whole of Epirus, bearing arms, await us. Let us then unite with enthusiasm. The Motherland is calling us!

Europe, fixing its eyes upon us, wonders at our inertia. Let all the mountains of Greece resound, therefore, with the echo of our battle trumpet, and the valleys with the fearful clash of our arms. Europe will admire our valour. Our tyrants, trembling and pale, will flee before us.

The enlightened peoples of Europe are occupied in restoring the same well-being, and, full of gratitude for the benefactions of our forefathers towards them, desire the liberation of Greece. We, seemingly worthy of ancestral virtue and of the present century, are hopeful that we will achieve their defence and help. Many of these freedom-lovers want to come and fight alongside us. Move, O friends, and you will see a Mighty Empire defend our rights! You will see even many of our enemies, moved by our just cause, turn their backs to the enemy and unite with us. Let them approach with a sincere spirit. The Motherland will embrace them! Who then hinders your manly arms? Our cowardly enemy is sick and weak. Our generals are experienced, and all our fellow countrymen are full of enthusiasm. Unite, then, O brave and magnanimous Greeks! Let national phalanxes be formed, let patriotic legions appear and you will see those old giants of despotism fall by themselves, before our triumphant banners.

All the shores of the Ionian and Aegean seas will resound to the sound

of our trumpet. Greek ships, which in time of peace have known both how to trade and to fight, will sow terror and death, by fire and the sword, in all the harbours of the tyrant!

What Greek soul will be indifferent to the invitation of the Motherland? In Rome, a friend of Caesar, shaking the bloody mantle of the tyrant, raised up the people. What will you do, O Greeks, to whom the Motherland, naked, shows its wounds and, with broken voice, calls on the help of its children? Divine Providence, O friends and fellow countrymen, having pity on our misfortunes, has granted the means, so that with a little effort we can enjoy every benefit with Freedom. If then out of culpable stupidity we are indifferent, the Tyrant, become wilder, will multiply our sufferings and we will become for ever the most unfortunate of all nations.

Turn your eyes, O fellow countrymen, and behold our miserable state! See here the ruined churches! There, our children seized for the shameless use of the shameless hedonism of our barbarous tyrants! Our houses stripped bare, our fields laid waste, and ourselves miserable slaves!

It is time to overthrow this insufferable yoke, to liberate the Motherland, to throw down the [Turkish] Crescent from the clouds, in order to raise up the symbol by which we always conquer, I mean the Cross, and thus rid the Motherland and our Orthodox faith from the impious scorn of the heathen.

Among ourselves the most noble is he who bravely defends the rights of the Motherland and works for it in a beneficial way. The nation assembled will elect its rulers, and to this highest parliament all our acts will yield.

Let us move then with a common spirit. Let the wealthy give up part of their own property, let the holy shepherds instil in the people their own example, and let the educated advise what is beneficial. Those fellow countrymen serving as soldiers and civilians in foreign courts, giving thanks to the power for which each works, let them all rush to the great and brilliant career already opened up, and let them offer to the Motherland the debt they owe; and as brave men let us all take up arms, without wasting time, with the unconquerable weapon of bravery, and I promise you in a short while victory, and after victory everything that is good.

What bought and indolent slaves dare to oppose themselves to a people fighting for its own independence? The heroic struggles of our forefathers are witnesses. Spain, who first and by herself put to rout the invincible phalanxes of a tyrant is a witness.

Fellow countrymen, with unity, with respect for holy religion, with obedience to the laws and the generals, with boldness and steadfastness, our victory is certain and inevitable. This will crown with evergreen laurels our heroic struggles. This, with inneffaceable characters, will carve our names in the Temple of Immortality, for the example of future generations. The Motherland will reward her obedient and genuine

children with the prizes of Glory and Honour. Those who disobey and turn a deaf ear to this present appeal will be declared bastards and asiatic germs, their names, as traitors, anathematised and cursed by later generations.

Let us then once again, O brave and magnanimous Greeks, invite Liberty to the classical land of Greece! Let us do battle between Marathon and Thermoplyae! Let us fight on the tombs of our fathers, who, so as to leave us free, fought and died there! The blood of the Tyrants is acceptable to the shades of Epameinondas the Theban and of Thrasyboulos the Athenian, who crushed the thirty tyrants, to the shades of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, who destroyed the yoke of Peisistratus, to that of Timoleon, who restored freedom to Corinth and Syracuse, certainly to those of Miltiades and Themistocles, of Leonidas and the Three Hundred, who cut down the innumerable armies of the barbarous Persians, whose most barbarious and inhuman descendants we today, with very little effort, are about to annihilate completely. To arms then, friends! The Motherland calls us!

Alexandros Ypsilantis. 24 February 1821. In the general camp at Iaşi.

12:2 THE HOLY SYNOD ANATHEMATISES THE *PHILIKI ETAIRIA*, MARCH 1821

G. G. Pappadopoulos and G. P. Angelopoulos, *Ta kata ton aoidimon protathlitin tou ierou ton Ellinon agonos ton Patriarkhin Konstantinoupoleos Grigorion ton E* (Athens, 1865) I, pp. 235–41.

Grigorios, by the Grace of God Archbishop of Constantinople, the New Rome, and Ecumenical Patriarch.

Most saintly Metropolitans, honoured and beloved brethren and concelebrators, subject to our most holy patriarchal, apostolic and ecumenical throne, most honourable clergy of our diocese which is the Great Church of Christ [Constantinople], most reverent priests and most pious monks of every diocese, the chanters in the churches of Galata and the whole of the Bosphoros and everywhere; and all blessed Christians, wherever they may be, beloved children in Christ, the grace and the peace of the Lord be with you, we [give] our prayers, blessings and forgiveness! The first basis of ethics is gratitude towards benefactors, and this is brighter than the sun. And whichever beneficiary is ungrateful, he is the worst of men. We frequently see this evil reproached as unforgivable both in the Holy Scriptures and by Our Lord Jesus Christ, for which we have the example of Judas. And when ingratitude is accompanied by an evil and insubordinate spirit against our common, generous, solicitous, powerful and invincible Empire, then ungodliness manifests itself, 'for there is no power

but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God.' Hence, whoever objects to this Empire which is vouchsafed to us by God, he rebels against God's command. And these two fundamental and basic moral and religious obligations have been trampled upon with unequalled impudence by the *hospodar* of Moldavia, Mikhail [Soutsos], appointed although he was not worthy, and by the ungrateful Alexandros Ypsilantis, son of the notorious and ungrateful fugitive Ypsilantis. To all our compatriots are known the countless mercies, of which the perpetual source is our ordained and mighty kingdom, that have been granted to the wicked Mikhail.

It raised him from a humble and insignificant position to rank and greatness, from lack of fame and obscurity it advanced him to glory and to honour. It enriched him, it nurtured him, and finally honoured him and made of him a ruler of peoples with the very brilliant throne of his principality. He, however, being of an evil disposition, appeared to be an ingrate monster, and agreed with Alexandros Ypsilantis, the son of the fugitive and escapee Ypsilantis who, gathering together a number of similar helpers, dared to enter Moldavia. And both being also reckless, arrogant and vainglorious, or rather vain, they announced the freedom of the nation, and with this voice they lured many of the stupid and immoral there, sending messengers in different areas to deceive and to persuade others, many of them compatriots, to the very abyss of destruction. So as to be able in a certain way to encourage their listeners, they used the name of the Russian power, putting it about that the Russians were in agreement with their thoughts and activities.

This matter is completely false and non-existent, and the creation of their own ill-will and a product of their imagination. For, while this was morally out of the question and the cause of much blame to the Russian Empire, His Excellency the Ambassador in this City [Constantinople] issued a written information, to the effect that the Russian state had no knowledge of or share in this matter, reproaching and shunning this abhorrent thing. In addition His Excellency dutifully informed the Imperial state about these events and he stressed the great necessity of taking care from the very beginning to sweep away and to disperse such evils. And from this notification and from the documents that were seized by the *muhafiz* of the Imperial frontiers, and presented by other faithful fellow countrymen, the root and basis of all this evil plan became known to the long-lived Empire. With such intrigues the two conspirators and freedom-lovers, or rather haters of freedom, planned the wretched enterprise and undertook a foul, impious and foolish work, wishing to disturb the ease and quiet of our faithful compatriot *raya.* This they enjoy under the vast shadow of the Empire, privileges of such freedom as no other vassal and subject nation enjoys, living undisturbed with their women and children, with their properties and their goods, with their honour, and especially with the privileges of religion, which have been

safeguarded and preserved without scandal up to the present for the salvation of our souls. Instead of freedom-lovers, they appeared as freedom-haters, instead of patriots and lovers of religion they appeared as traitors, haters of religion and atheists, provoking, alas, the conscienceless ones with their desperate plots, the exasperation of our benevolent powerful Empire against our compatriots and fellow subjects, hastening to bring common and general ruin on the whole nation. And it is known that those who are given over to piety, those who are prudent and honourable and strict guardians of the Holy Canons and Divine Laws, will not pay attention to the lies of those villains and evil-doers. Since however it is a possiblity that some will be led astray and that some will lead others into error, for this reason, forewarning out of ecclesiastical providence, we dictate for the salvation of you all, and writing with our holy brethren and the Most Blessed Patriarch of Jerusalem, with the most brilliant and distinguished notables of the nation, with the most honourable merchants, the most notable of each guild, and all Orthodox Christians in the capital of whatever class and station, we counsel and advise and order and command all you local prelates, you abbots of the holy monasteries, priests of the churches, spiritual fathers of the parishes, the *proestoi* and well-to-do of the towns and villages, and all the local *prokritoi,* to proclaim the deceit of the aforementioned evil-doers and villainous men, and to point them out and to stigmatise them everywhere as common bringers of ruin and conceited people, and to warn as much as possible those with knowledge of the deceits and intrigues, that the only indication of innocence is for those who by chance receive such letters about this affair to produce them, or who learn news, to present it, in the capital to us, in the parts outside the capital to the local prelates there, and to the ecclesiastical officials appointed by us, and handing over those simple minded ones, who appear to be conducting themselves in a way unbecoming to the character of *raya.* For these disturb the general peace and propel our weak and innocent fellow countrymen to the perdition of the abyss. . . . You must hate and shun, both in thought and speech, those impious leaders and desperate fugitives and destructive traitors. For the Church and our nation also hate them, and they will heap upon their heads the most horrible and atrocious curses. The Church has cut them off from the pure and healthy Christian body, because they, as members, are rotten.

As transgressors of the divine laws and canonical injunctions, as despisers of the holy precept of gratitude and of thanks to benefactors, as transgressors of the moral and political ordinances, as the conscienceless manipulators of the innocent and not responsible fellow countrymen, may they be excommunicated and be cursed and be not forgiven and be anathematised after death and tried for all eternity, and those who followed their steps or will follow, if they will not denounce the plundering and deceit and if they do not return and follow the narrow way

of salvation, and if in the end they do not resume their character of *raya.* The same against you, prelates and priests, we counsel if you do not follow whatever we now manifest ecclesiastically through this by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit ... if you do not demonstrate in your work your diligence and zeal in the dissipation of machinations, in the checking of abuses and of insubordination, in the return of the strayed, and in the direct and indirect pursuit of, and vengeance against, those persisting in rebellious thoughts. If you do not concur with the Church of God, and, in a word, you do deceive in any way or intrigue against our common benefactor, the powerful Empire, we hold you suspended from any priestly function and, with the power of the Holy Spirit, dispossessed of the office of prelate or priest and guilty, for the fires of hell, as preferring the common destruction of the race. Thus, those now reading this, look towards God and act as we write and as we ask ecclesiastically and generally, and in no way otherwise, from the decision that we await for the speedy and favourable carrying out of the aforementioned, so that the Grace of God and the fathomless mercy be with you always.

1821 March

Synodically signed on the Holy Alter by my humble being and His Beatitude and all the holy prelates and colleagues.

The Patriarch of Constantinople witnesses
Polykarpos of Jerusalem also witnesses

Ioannikios of Caesarea
Athanasios of Nicomedia
Grigorios of Derkoi
Dorotheos of Adrianoupolis
Ieremias of Vizyis
Kallinikos of Siphnos
Meletios of Heraclea
Makarios of Nicaea
Iosif of Thessaloniki
Zakharias of Verroia
Kallinikos of Didymoteikhon
Dionysios of Reon
Philotheos of Varna
Konstantios of Cyzicus
Grigorios of Chalcedon
Ioannikios of Tyrnavo
Athanasios of Pisidia
Anthimos of Drysta
Paisios of Sozopolis
Damaskinos of Phanari and Phersala
Anthimos of Nafpaktos and Arta

12:3 OTTOMAN REPRISALS: THE EXECUTION OF THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH GRIGORIOS V, EASTER SUNDAY 1821

Robert Walsh, *A Residence at Constantinople, during a period including the commencement, progress, and termination of the Greek and Turkish Revolutions* (London, 1836) I, pp. 314–17.

[. . .] The Patriarch and his bishops, in the consciousness of their own blameless conduct, and the full confidence that they had been absolved from all suspicion by the strong and decisive pastoral address they had drawn up and promulgated among their flocks, had met in the patriarchal church as usual, to celebrate their high festival, with no apprehension or other feeling than that which the day inspired. The Patriarch was attended by several of his prelates who had signed the pastoral address, and the service of the day was performed with an additional solemnity, which the state of things naturally imposed. The cathedral was full; the general disposition for religious consolation, under the impressions of danger and the feeling of security in a crowd, had drawn the whole population of the Fanal together, and every one that could get entrance was collected in the church and the precincts of the patriarchate. Exhortations were again made to the assembled multitides – the advice of the patriarchal address was repeated, and the people were about to disperse, strongly impressed with what they had heard, when suddenly some chouashes [çavuş] entered the patriarchate, and having with difficulty forced their way through the mass, who thought no more of them than as persons sent as was usual to keep order in a crowd, they rudely seized the Patriarch, who had just given his benediction to the people, and his officiating bishops; and, dragging them along by the collar into the courts, they tied ropes round their necks. A janissary was present who had been appointed to attend at the palace, like one of those at the residences of the foreign embassies, and had conceived the highest respect and regard for the venerable man. When he saw the person he was appointed to protect thus treated, he rushed forward in his defence, and resisted the violence offered to him, till he was stabbed by the yatagan of another. The old man was then dragged under the gateway, where the cord was passed through the staple that fastened the folding doors, and left to struggle in his robes with the agonies of death. His person, attenuated by abstinence and emaciated by age, had not weight sufficient to cause immediate death. He continued for a long time in pain, which no friendly hand dared to abridge, and the darkness of night came on before his last convulsions were over. His two diacres, or chaplains, were dragged to other doorways of the patriarchate, where they were hanged in a similar manner. Athanasius of Nicomedia, with the bishops of Ephesus and Anchialos, were hauled through the streets with ropes about their necks, and hanged in different parts of the Fanal; while those of Derkon, Salonichi, Tornovo, and Adrianople, with the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who were all seized at the same time, were cast into the dungeons of the Bostandjee bashi, to await their doom.

The body of the Patriarch was suffered to remain suspended at the doorway, so that everyone who went in and out was compelled to push it on one side. Among the rest who had occasion to pass was the unfortunate

person appointed to succeed to his dangerous eminence. He was led to the patriarchate by the hand of a chouash; and while bringing him through, and removing the body, the Turk bade him look on it, and take warning by the fate of his predecessor. He was a timid, nervous man, and did not long survive his elevation. It was generally supposed that the shock he received at this brutal exhibition was the proximate cause of his death.

Whenever the Turks intended anything particularly insulting and contemptuous to Christians, the Jews are made the instruments. Balata, the Jews' quarter, was immediately in the rear of the Fanal, so they took from this district some of the meanest and basest they could find even among the degraded populace. The Greeks had humbly begged the body of the venerable head of their church to inter it decently, when the period of its exposure was past; but this was denied them. The body was taken down at the end of three days, and the rope by which it was suspended was put into the hands of those Jewish chiffuts [çıfıt], who were ordered to drag it by the neck down to the water. The distance was not far, but the way was through a very dirty market, where offals of all kinds were lying about in foul masses. Through these they drew it with gratuitous insult, exulting, as it were, in the detestable employment in which they were engaged; and after defiling the body in every way, it was cast into the harbour, where the waters closed over it. The conduct of the Jews on this occasion was considered as an indication of the deadly hatred they bore Christians, by thus treating the Oriental head of that church which had subverted their own; but it is probable that the creatures chosen for the purpose were incapable of sense or feeling on such a subject; they were as ignorant as they were abject – they acted under the impressions of terror and stupidity, and any exultation they showed was to gratify their more brutal and ferocious masters. [. . .]

Glossary

adelphopoiitos, blood brother (sixth and lowest grade in the *Philiki Etairia*). See also *vlamis*
ağa, lord
arkhi, leadership of the *Philiki Etairia.*
arkhididaskalos, chief teacher
arkhigos ton aphieromenon, leader of the dedicated ones (highest grade of the *Philiki Etairia*)
arkhon, noble, overseer
armatolık, area controlled by a band of *armatoloi*
armatolos, Greek irregular in Ottoman service, charged with maintenance of order in the provinces
aphieromenos, dedicated one (second grade in the *Philiki Etairia*)
ayan, Ottoman provincial notable
baş kapıkâhyası, agent in Constantinople of a Phanariot *hospodar*
bayram, Muslim religious feast day following fast of *Ramazan*
berat, warrant
bey, prince, gentleman
bezesten covered market
bölük başı, corporal
bostancıbaşı, officer commanding the Sultan's bodyguard
buyrultu, order
çavuş, sergeant, guard
çıfıt, contemptuous epithet for Jew
derbendağa (derventli), official charged with guarding mountain passes
derebey, Ottoman provincial notable (valley lord)
devlet, (Ottoman) state
devletli, title of honour
dimogeron, (Greek) elder of the community
divan, Ottoman Council of State, supreme council of a Phanariot *hospodar*
elçi, ambassador
Ellinomouseion, school where ancient Greek is taught
ephor, overseer of a school or of the *Philiki Etairia*
ephoreia, committee of overseers (of the *Philiki Etairia*)
falanga, beating on the soles of the feet
ferman, (imperial) edict

fortoma, load
Frangia, the West
Genikos Epitropos, General Commissioner (leader) of the *Philiki Etairia*
grosion, piastre
gymnasion, academy
hacı, one who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca (if a Muslim), to the Holy Land (if a Christian)
hamal, riff-raff, porter
han, warehouse, inn
harac, tax paid by non-Muslims in lieu of military service
haseki, Imperial Ottoman bodyguard
hatt-ı şerif, imperial command
hospodar, (Phanariot) prince of Wallachia or Moldavia
ierefs, priest (fourth grade in the *Philiki Etairia*)
jiftlik (çiftlik), estate
kadı, Muslim judge
kalogeros, monk
kalpak, fez-shaped fur hat
kapetanios, leader of a group of *klefts* or *armatoloi*
kapıcıbaşı, Ottoman inquisitorial official
kapoi, armed retainers of the Peloponnesian *kocabaşıs*
kaptan paşa, admiral of the Ottoman fleet
kaza, district
khrysovoulon, Golden Bull
kile, a *kile* of Istanbul equalled *c.* 25 kilogrammes. Three *kile* of Thessaloniki equalled one of Istanbul
kleft, Greek bandit
kocabaşı, Greek notable (particularly in the Peloponnese). See also *proestos*, *prokritos* and *proykhon*
koumbaros, best man or godfather
limeri, hideout of the *klefts*
liva, Ottoman administrative district
mahmudiye, gold coin of 25 piastres
mandra, fold
Megali tou Genous Skholi, The Great School of the (Greek) Nation in Kuruçesme, Constantinople
metokhion, dependency of a monastery
millet, nation, non-Muslim religious denomination
molla, chief judge
muhafiz, guard
mühürdar, an Ottoman official
müsellim an Ottoman official
nark, officially fixed price

nazır, minister
oikonomos, steward
oka, measure of weight = approximately 2¾ lb
palikari, a brave
para, one fortieth of a piastre
paşa, pasha, highest title of Turkish civil and military officials
paşalık, district ruled by a *paşa*
Phanar (Fener), the quarter of Constantinople (on the Golden Horn) in which the Ecumenical Patriarchate is situated
Philiki Etaria, Society of Friends, a secret revolutionary society founded in 1814
Philomousos Etairia, Society of Friends of the Muses, a literary and educational society founded in Athens in 1813, with a branch in Vienna in 1815
poimin, shepherd (third grade in the *Philiki Etairia*)
proestos, Greek notable. See also *kocabaşı*, *prokritos* and *proykhon*
prokritos, notable. See also *kocabaşı*, *proestos* and *proykhon*
protogeros, elder of the (Greek) community.
protomastoris, guild leader, leading craftsmen
protopsaltis, head chorister
protosyngellos, canon (ecclesiastical office)
proykhon, Greek notable. See also *kocabaşı*, *proestos* and *prokritos*
Ramazan, Muslim fast
raya, non-Muslim subjects of the Empire
rayadosyni, the submissiveness expected of *raya*
Rumeli, Turkey in Europe
serasker, commander
serdar, general
sermaye, capital
seyid, descendant of the Prophet Muhammed
simantron, block of wood used as a church bell
subaşi, superintendent of police, or governor
Sublime Porte, seat of Ottoman government
su nazırı, water overseer
suterazisi, water balance, used in the aqueducts of Constantinople to maintain a head of water
suyolcu, water worker
systatikon, letter of introduction of the *systemenoi* (of the *Philiki Etairia*)
systimenos, recommended one (fifth grade of the *Philiki Etairia*)
tezkere, warrant
vali, Ottoman governor
vekil, representative (of the Peloponnesian Greeks in Constantinople)
vezir, minister

vilâyet, province
vlamis, brother (lowest grade in the *Philiki Etairia*). See also *adelphopoiitos*
waywode, see *hospodar*
zabit, officer

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